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A GENERAL VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

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AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

A GENERAL VIEW

OF THE HISTORY

OF

THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

BY

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LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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Εὐλόγως ὁ Διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν ἔλεγεν

Γίνεσθε τραπεζῖται δόκιμοι.

PREFACE.

In the following Essay I have endeavoured to call attention to some points in the history of the English Bible which have been strangely neglected. The history of our Bible is indeed a type of the history of our Church, and both histories have suffered the same fate. The writers who have laboured most successfully upon them have in the main confined themselves to outward facts without tracing the facts back to their ultimate sources, or noticing the variety of elements which go to form the final result. As far as I know no systematic inquiry into the internal history of our Authorised Version has yet been made, and still no problem can offer greater scope for fruitful research. To solve such a problem completely would be a work of enormous labour, and I have been

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forced to content myself with indicating some salient points in the solution, in the hope that others may correct and supplement the conclusions which I have obtained. It is at least something to know generally to what extent Tyndale and Coverdale made use of earlier versions, and to be able to refer to their sources most of the characteristic readings of Matthew's New Testament and of the Great Bibles[1].

Even in the external history of our Bible much remains to be done. It seems scarcely credible that adequate inquiry will not shew from what presses Tyndale's New Testament of 1535, Coverdale's Bible of 1535 and Matthew's Bible of 1537 proceeded. And it is impossible not to hope that Mr Brewer's re-

[1] Perhaps I may be allowed to mention one or two collations which would certainly furnish some valuable results.

(1) A collation of the Grenville Fragment with the smaller Tyndale's Testament of 1525.

(2) A collation of Tyndale's Testaments of 1534 and 1535 with the New Testament in Matthew's Bible of 1537.

(3) A collation of Tyndale's Pentateuchs of 1530 and 1534 with Matthew's Bible 1537, for which Mr Offor's MS. in the British Museum would be available as a verification (see p. 270, n.).

(4) A collation of numerous select passages in the Great Bibles of 1539, April 1540, and November 1540, with a view to ascertaining how far the reaction in the last text extends, and whether it can be traced to any principle.

(5) A collation of the New Testaments of the Bishops' Bibles of 1568 and 1572.

searches may yet bring to light new documents illustrating the vacillating policy of Henry VIII. as to the circulation of the vernacular Scriptures.

It does not fall within my province to criticise other histories. I have used Mr Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, and the *Historical Account* prefixed to Bagster's *Hexapla* (to which Mr Anderson does scant justice) with the greatest profit, and I desire to express generally my obligations to both essays. If I differ from them silently on any points I do so purposely, and in some cases I have even felt obliged to point out errors in them which were likely to mislead.

Absolute accuracy in an inquiry of so wide a range seems to be impossible, and every one who is conscious of his own manifold mistakes would gladly leave the mistakes of others unnoticed; but when writers like Mr Hallam and Mr Froude misrepresent every significant feature in an important episode of literary history, it seems necessary to raise some protest. Their names are able to give authority to fictions, if the fictions are unchallenged; and thus most unwillingly I have felt bound to examine Mr Froude's account of the English Bible in detail, and earnestly wish that the other parts of his narrative

may prove more trustworthy when they are subjected to a similar process[1].

No apology, I trust, will be needed for the adoption of our ordinary orthography in quotations from the early versions; and the extreme difficulty of revising proofs by the help of distant libraries must be pleaded as an excuse for more serious errors.

What I have done is for the most part tentative and incomplete, and many points in the history of

[1] One example of this contagiousness of error, which is a fair specimen of a very large class, falls under my notice as these sheets are passing through the press. 'Tyndale,' writes Mr Smiles, 'unable to get his New 'Testament printed in England, where its perusal was forbidden [?], 'had the first edition printed at Antwerp in 1526....A complete edition 'of the English Bible, translated partly by Tyndale and partly by 'Coverdale, was printed at Hamburgh in 1535; and a second edition, 'edited by John Rogers, under the name of Thomas Matthew, was 'printed at Marlborow in Hesse in 1537....Cranmer's Bible, so called 'because revised by Cranmer, was published in 1539—40.' *Huguenots*, p. 15, and note. London, 1867. Neither the first nor the second edition of Tyndale's New Testament was printed at Antwerp. The Bible of 1535 was not partly translated by Tyndale; and no competent bibliographer at present assigns it to the Hamburgh press. Matthew's Bible was in no sense a second edition of Coverdale's, of which, indeed, two editions were published in 1537, and the place where it was printed is as yet uncertain. 'Cranmer's Bible' was not revised by Cranmer, and the editions of 1539 and 1540 are quite distinct. With that of 1539 Cranmer had nothing to do till after it was printed. Thus every statement in the quotation is incorrect. Lewis' *History* has, I fear, much to answer for; but it is unpardonable to use it without verification.

the Bible are left wholly unnoticed. If my leisure would have allowed I should have been glad to examine the changes in the headings of the chapters and the marginal references, both before and after 1611, for their history involves many details of great interest. One question however in connexion with the Authorised Version I have purposely neglected. It seemed useless to discuss its revision. The revision of the original texts must precede the revision of the translation, and the time for this, even in the New Testament, has not yet fully come.

But however painful the sense of incompleteness and inaccuracy in such an essay as this must be, it has this advantage, that it bears witness almost on every page to the kindness of friends. It would have been far more imperfect than it is if I had not been allowed every facility for using the magnificent collections of Bibles in the British Museum, the University Library at Cambridge, and the Baptist College at Bristol. For this privilege and for similar acts of courtesy my warmest thanks are due to the Rev. H. O. Coxe, Bodley's Librarian at Oxford, Mr Bradshaw, University Librarian at Cambridge, Mr Bullen of the British Museum, the Rev. Dr Gotch, Principal of the Baptist College, Bristol, Mr Aldis Wright,

Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, Mr Fry Cotham, Bristol, and the late Rev. Dr Milman, Dean of St Paul's.

B. F. W.

HARROW,
Nov. 3, 1868.

ERRATA.

Page 53, line 4 from bottom, *for* Gunuel *read* Gunnel.
,, 57, ,, 12 from bottom, *for* Saueowre *read* Saueoure.
,, 57, last line, *for* yeare *read* yere.
,, 73, line 3 from top, *for* 1555 *read* 1535.
,, 122, last line, *for* Munster *read* Münster.
,, 221, note 1. See p. 270 n.
,, 239, l. 11 from bottom, *for* Munster *read* Münster.

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INTRODUCTION.

THEN the boy sprang up from his knees, and ran,
Stung by the splendour of a sudden thought,
And fetched the seventh plate of graven lead
Out of the secret chamber, found a place,
Pressing with finger on the deeper dints,
And spoke, as 'twere his mouth proclaiming first,
'I am the Resurrection and the Life.'

Whereat he opened his eyes wide at once,
And sat up of himself, and looked at us;
And thenceforth nobody pronounced a word:
Only, outside, the Bactrian cried his cry
Like the lone desert-bird that wears the ruff,
As signal he were safe, from time to time.

INTRODUCTION.

The History of vernacular versions of Holy Scripture the history of personal faith.

THERE is a famous saying, which dates from the times of persecution, that 'the blood of Martyrs 'is the seed of the Church.' It may be added in the like spirit, that the voice of Holy Scripture is the spring and measure of individual faith. Both statements require to be modified in their application; but it remains generally true that the society which is founded by human devotion and labour, is quickened in its several members by the influence of the Word. So it is that the history of the vernacular Scriptures is in a great measure the history of personal faith. A people which is without a Bible in its mother tongue, or is restrained from using it, or wilfully neglects it, is also imperfect, or degenerate, or lifeless in its apprehension of Christian Truth, and proportionately bereft of the strength which flows from a living Creed.

Versions the first work in the early spread of Christianity to new nations.

In the first ages of the Church the translation of the Scriptures followed immediately on the introduction of Christianity to a nation of a new language. When the Gospel spread eastwards, a Syriac translation of the New Testament was one of the first monuments of its power. When it spread westwards, a Latin version preceded, as far as we know, all other literary efforts of the African Church. Ulfilas, the second bishop of the Goths, gave them the Scriptures in their own language. Miesrob, the framer of the Armenian alphabet, was the translator of the Armenian Bible; and the Slavonic version was due in part at least to the two brothers, Cyrillus and Methodius, who first reduced the Slavonic dialect to writing. The history of the Æthiopic and Egyptian Scriptures is probably similar, though it is more obscure; and it is most significant, that of these ancient versions, the greater part survive substantially the same in the public services of the nations which occupy the places of those for whom they were originally composed.

The action of this law necessarily suspended for a time among the Northern nations.

The original versions of Holy Scripture remain, but all else is changed. If we fix our eyes on the west only, we see the new-won empire of the Church desolated almost as soon as it was gained,

by successive hordes of barbarian invaders, out of whom she was destined in the Providence of God to shape the forefathers of modern Europe. In less than ten years, after Jerome completed his version of the Old Testament from the Hebrew (A.D. 400—404), Alaric took Rome (A.D. 410). Thenceforward a fresh work was to be achieved by Christianity, and by a new method. For a time the normal processes of Christianity were in abeyance: organization prevailed over faith. These new races were to be disciplined by act before they could be taught by the simple word. Thus the task of the translation of Scripture among the northern nations was suspended. The Latin Vulgate sufficed for the teachers, and they ministered to their congregations such lessons from it as they could receive.

The first Northern versions in England.

But as soon as society was again settled, the old instinct asserted itself, and first, which is a just cause of pride, in our own island. As early as the eighth century, the Psalms were rendered into Anglo-Saxon; and about the same time, Bede, during his last illness, translated the Gospel of St John.

Bede translates St John's Gospel.

The narrative of the completion of this work is given by an eye-witness, Cuthbert, a scholar of

Bede, in a letter to a fellow-scholar, and is in itself so beautiful a picture of the early monastic life, that it may be quoted in abstract. Bede had been ill for some weeks. About Easter (A.D. 735), he felt that his end was approaching, and looked forward to it with ceaseless gratitude, 'rejoicing that he was counted worthy thus to suffer.' He quoted much from Holy Scripture; and one fragment of Saxon poetry, which he recited and may have composed, was taken down by Cuthbert[1]. But he was chiefly busy with two English translations of Excerpts from Isidore, and of the Gospel of St John. Ascension-day drew near. His illness increased, but he only laboured the more diligently. On the Wednesday, his scribe told him that one chapter alone remained, but feared that it might be painful to him to dictate. 'It is 'easy,' Bede replied, 'take your pen and write 'quickly.' The work was continued for some time. Then Bede directed Cuthbert to fetch his little treasures from his casket (capsella), 'pepper, ker-

[1] The original is given in Gale, *Hist. Angl. Script.* III. 152, and by Wright, *Biographia Literaria*, I. p. 21, from whom I borrow a literal translation: 'Before the ne-'cessary journey no one becomes 'more prudent of thought than 'is needful to him, to search out 'before his going hence what of 'good or of evil will be judged 'to his spirit of good or of evil 'after his death.'

'chiefs (oraria) and incense,' that he might distribute them among his friends. And so he passed the remainder of the day till evening in holy and cheerful conversation. His boy-scribe at last found an opportunity to remind him, with pious importunity, of his unfinished task: 'One sentence, dear 'master, still remains unwritten.' 'Write quickly,' he answered. The boy soon said, 'It is completed 'now.' 'Well,' Bede replied, 'thou hast said the 'truth: all is ended. Take my head in thy hands. 'I would sit in the holy place in which I was 'wont to pray, that so sitting I may call upon my 'Father.' Thereupon, resting on the floor of his cell, he chanted the *Gloria*, and his soul immediately passed away, while the name of the Holy Spirit was on his lips[1].

Other old English translations.

In the next century Alfred prefixed to his laws a translation of the Ten Commandments, and a few other fragments from the book of Exodus; and is said to have been engaged on a version of the Psalms at the time of his death (A.D. 901). In the tenth century, or a little later, the four Gospels were translated apparently for public use; and two interlinear translations, probably of an

[1] Cuthbert's letter is given in Bede's *Eccles. Hist.* Præf. c. ii. Tom. VI. p. 15, ed. Migne.

earlier date, into other English dialects, are preserved in Latin Manuscripts, which shew at least individual zeal[1]. Of the Old Testament, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Esther, and parts of other books were translated about the tenth century. All these translations, with the possible exception of Bede's, were only secondary translations from the Latin, but none the less they reveal the thoughts with which men's hearts were stirred. And there was no hindrance to their execution. On the contrary, the number of the labourers who took part in the work shews that it was of wide popularity.

A pause followed.

But the effort was as yet premature. England had still to receive a new element of her future strength; and for her the time of discipline was not over. The Norman invasion, which brought with it the fruits of Romanic thought and culture, checked for a while the spontaneous development of religious life. Nevertheless fragmentary trans-

[1] One of these noble MSS. is in the British Museum (the Lindisfarne (St Cuthbert's) Gospels, *Cotton*, Nero, D. IV.); and the other is in the Bodleian (the Rushworth (Mac Regol's) Gospels, *Bodl.* D. 24). I am not acquainted with any satisfactory description of the MSS. of the common Anglo-Saxon Version; nor yet with any general account of the relation in which the several copies stand to one another. In this respect Thorpe's edition is most unsatisfactory.

lations of Scripture into Norman-French shew that the Bible was popularly studied, and in the end the nation was richer by the delay. Nor may it be forgotten even in this relation that the insularity of the people furthered its characteristic growth; for while it remained outside the Roman empire yet it shared in the spiritual strength which came at that time from an intimate union with the Roman See. Thus the nation preserved throughout its progress the features of its peculiar constitution, and at the same time was brought within the influence of Catholic discipline and sympathy. It would be out of place to follow out here the action and reaction of these special and general powers upon the English type of mediæval Christianity; but the recognition of their simultaneous working is necessary for the understanding of the history of the English Bible. For three centuries they acted with various and beneficent results. At length in the 14th century the preparatory work of the Papacy was ended and its dissolution commenced. The many nations and the many churches began from that time to define their separate peculiarities and functions. The time of maturity was now ready to follow on the time of tutelage: a free

The Papal discipline of Europe completed in 14th century.

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development was sufficiently prepared by a long discipline[1].

The history of the English Bible 1. *external:* 2. *internal.*

It is then at this point that the history of the English Bible properly commences, a history which is absolutely unique in its course and in its issue. And this history is twofold. There is the external history of the different versions, as to when and by whom and under what circumstances they were made; and there is the internal history which deals with their relation to other texts, with their filiation one on another, and with the principles by which they have been successively modified. The external history is a stirring record of faithful and victorious courage: the internal history is not less remarkable from the enduring witness which it bears to that noble catholicity which is the glory of the English Church.

[1] No notice has been taken of the metrical paraphrases and summaries of parts of Scripture, as that of Cædmon († c. 680) on parts of Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel; of Orm (c. 1150) on the Gospels and the Acts; and the 'Sowlehele' (c. 1250). These, though they paved the way for translations of the Bible, cannot be reckoned among them.

CHAPTER I.

THE MANUSCRIPT BIBLE.

Another race hath been and other palms are won.

CHAPTER I.

THE MANUSCRIPT BIBLE.

THE external history of the English Bible may be divided into two periods of not very unequal length, the first extending from the beginning of Wycliffe's labours to the publication of Tyndale's New Testament in 1525, the second from that date to the completion of our present received version in 1611. The first of these will be the subject of the present chapter.

1. *External History. Two periods:* (1) 1380—1525; (2) 1525-1611.

It has been already said that the 14th century was the first stage in the dissolution of the mediæval church. Its character was marked by the corruption of the higher clergy, and the growth of independence in the masses of the people. Both facts favoured an appeal from custom and tradition to the written and unchanging Word. Moreover the last great progressive effort for the restoration of the Church—the establishment of the mendicant

(1) *First period.* Manuscript translations.

CHAP. I.

orders—had failed, but not before the people had been roused by the appeals which were addressed to them. In England the crisis was keenly felt. Men turned with intense longing to the Bible, and in the first instance naturally to the Psalter, which has been in every age the fresh spring of hope in times of trial. No less than three versions of this, dating from the first half of the 14th century, have been preserved. But the work of translation did not long stop here. The years from 1345 to 1349 were full of calamities—pestilence and famine and war—which seemed to men already deeply stirred by the sight of spiritual evils to portend the end of the world. Other commotions followed which shewed the wide-spread disorganization of society. In France there was the terrible rising of the Jacquerie (1358); in Italy the momentary triumph and fall of Rienzi (1347—1354); a great schism (1378—1417) divided the forces of the Church; and Adrianople became (1360) the capital of a Turkish Empire in Europe built on the ruins of a Christian power.

The beginning of Wycliffe's translation.

It was shortly after this time that Wycliffe, who had already written his *Last Age of the Church* (1356), began his labours on the Bible by a translation of the Apocalypse. This was followed by

a translation of the Gospels with a commentary, and at a later time by versions of the remaining books of the New Testament with a fresh rendering of the Apocalypse, so that a complete English New Testament was finished about 1380. To this a version of the Old Testament was soon added, which appears to have been undertaken by a friend of Wycliffe's, Nicholas de Hereford. The original manuscript of Nicholas is still preserved in the Bodleian, and offers a curious memorial of his fortunes. For having incurred the displeasure of his superiors, he was cited to appear in London in 1382, to answer for his opinions. He was excommunicated, and left England shortly afterward, breaking off his translation in the middle of Baruch (iii. 20), where the manuscript ends abruptly. The work was afterwards completed, as it is supposed, by Wycliffe, who thus before he died in 1384 had the joy of seeing his hope fulfilled and the Scriptures circulated in various forms among his countrymen.

NEW TESTAMENT.

OLD TESTAMENT.

Like the earlier Saxon translations, Wycliffe's translation was made from the Latin Vulgate, and from the text commonly current in the 14th century, which was far from pure. It was also so exactly literal that in many places the meaning

From the Latin Vulgate.

CHAP. I.

Revised by Purvey, c. 1388.

was obscure. The followers of Wycliffe were not blind to these defects, and within a few years after his death a complete revision of the Bible was undertaken by John Purvey, who had already become notorious for his opinions, and had shared in the disgrace of Nicholas de Hereford[1].

Purvey's account of his work.

Purvey has left, in a general Prologue, an interesting account of the method on which he proceeded in his revision, which is marked by singular sagacity and judgment. He had, as will be seen, clear conceptions of the duties of the critic and of the translator, and the comparison of his work with Wycliffe's shews that he was not unable to carry out the design which he formed. After enumerating several obvious motives for undertaking his task, he continues: 'For these reasons 'and other, with common charity to save all men 'in our realm, which God will have saved, a simple 'creature [so he calls himself] hath translated the 'Bible out of Latin into English. First this simple 'creature had much travail with divers fellows and 'helpers to gather many old bibles and other doc-

[1] Purvey's copy is still preserved at Dublin. The Latin MSS. which Purvey used exhibit many different readings from Wycliffe's, but they are not different in character. Both translations contain the interpolations in the books of Samuel, *e.g.* 1 Sam. v. 6; x. 1, &c.

'tors and common glosses, and to make a Latin 'bible sumdel [somewhat] true'; and then to study 'it of the new, the text with the gloss...; the third 'time to counsel with old grammarians...; the 'fourth time to translate as clearly as he could to 'the sentence [sense], and to have many good 'fellows and cunning at the correcting of the trans- 'lation. First it is to know that the best trans- 'lating is...to translate after the sentence and not 'only after the words, so that the sentence be as 'open, either opener, in English as in Latin, and 'go not far from the letter....In translating into 'English many resolutions moun [can] make the 'sentence open, as an ablative case absolute may 'be resolved into these three words with covenable '[suitable] verb, *the while*, *for*, *if*...and *when*.... 'Also a participle of a present tense...may be 'resolved into a verb of the same tense and a 'conjunction copulative....Also a relative, which 'may be resolved into his antecedent with a con- 'junction copulative....And when rightful construc-

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[1] The collation of manuscripts must have heen very partial and scanty. Thus in 1 John ii. 14 all the copies of Purvey's translation read '*brithren*,' *i.e. fratres* for *patres*, a blunder of which I can find no trace in Bentley's collations of English MSS. of the Vulgate. The clause is omitted by Wycliffe, as by many Latin MSS.

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'tion is letted [hindered] by relation I resolve it 'openly: thus where...*Dominum formidabunt ad-'versarii ejus* should be Englished thus by the 'letter *the Lord his adversaries should dread*, I 'English it thus by resolution, *the adversaries of 'the Lord should dread Him*...At the beginning I 'purposed with God's help to make the sentence as 'true and open in English as it is in Latin, either 'more true and more open than it is in Latin; and 'I pray for charity and for common profit of Chris-'tian souls that if any wise man find any default 'of the truth of translation, let him set in the true 'sentence and open of holy writ...for...the common 'Latin bibles have more need to be corrected, as 'many as I have seen in my life, than hath the 'English Bible late translated[1]....' As might be expected the revised text displaced the original version, and in spite of its stern proscription in a convocation in 1408 under the influence of Archbishop Arundel[2], it was widely circulated through

[1] *Prologue*, c. xv. p. 57. Mr Froude's statement that the second version, based upon Wycliffe's, was 'tinted more strongly with the peculiar opinions of the Lollards,' is, as far as I have compared the two, wholly without foundation. The differences are exactly those which the Prologue describes. It need not be said that it was not made 'at the beginning of the fifteenth century' (*History of England*, III. p. 77).

[2] See p. 22.

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all classes till it was at last superseded by the printed versions of the 16th century[1].

But this first triumph of the English Bible was not won without a perilous struggle. One or two contemporary notices of the state of feeling over which it was achieved and of that again out of which it sprung are of deep interest. Thus a scholar writes when asked to teach the ignorant the contents of the Gospel: 'Brother, I know well 'that I am holden by Christ's law to perform thy 'asking, but natheless we are now so far fallen 'away from Christ's law, that if I would answer to 'thy askings I must in case undergo the death; and 'thou wottest well that a man is beholden to keep 'his life as long as he may[2].' 'Many think it amiss,' says Wycliffe, 'that men should know Christ's 'life, for then priests should be shamed of their

Dangers of the work.

[1] The translation included all the Apocryphal Books except 2 Esdras. The *Epistle to the Laodicenes* was not included in Wycliffe's or Purvey's translation, but was added afterwards in some MSS. The texts of the original translation and of the revision are generally uniform.

It is scarcely necessary to add that Sir T. More's statement that 'the Holy Bible was translated [into English] long before Wycliffe's days' is not supported by the least independent evidence. He may have seen a MS. of Wycliffe's version, and (like Lambert, see p. 29) have miscalculated the date. Bp. Bonner (for instance) had a copy, and there was a fine one at the Charterhouse. See p. 24. Compare Tyndale's *Answer to More*, III. p. 168.

[2] Forshall and Madden, *Wycliffe's Bible*, Introd. p. xv. n.

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'lives, and specially these high priests, for they 'contradict Christ both in word and deed.' Yet there was a vigorous party to which the reformers could trust. 'One comfort,' he adds, 'is of 'knights, that they savour [understand] much the 'Gospel, and have will to read in English the Gospel of Christ's life[1].' But the fear of death and the power of enemies could not prevail against the Spirit in which the work was wrought.

Supporters.

'Christian men,' one says, 'ought to travail 'night and day about text of holy writ, and namely 'the Gospel in their mother tongue, since Jesus 'Christ, very God and very man, taught this Gospel with His own blessed mouth and kept it 'in His life[2].' 'I beseech and with all my heart 'pray them that this work read,' writes Wycliffe, in the preface to his *Harmony of the Gospels*, 'that 'for me they pray the mercy of God, that I may 'fulfil that is set in the draught [translation] of 'this book, and that he at whose suggestion I 'this work began, and they that this work read, 'and all Christian men with me, through doing 'of that that is written in this book, may come 'together to that bliss that never shall end[3].' And Purvey when he revised Wycliffe's work knew well

Spirit of reader and writer.

[1] Id. l.c. [2] Id. p. xiv. n. [3] Id. p. x. n.

what was required of the interpreter of Scripture. CHAP. I.
'He hath need to live a clean life and be full devout
'in prayers, and have not his wit occupied about
'worldly things that the Holy Spirit, Author of
'wisdom and knowledge and truth, dress him in
'his work and suffer him not for to err.....By this
'manner,' he concludes, 'with good living and great
'travail men may come to true and clear translating
'and true understanding of Holy Writ, seem it never
'so hard at the beginning. God grant to us all
'grace to ken well and keep well Holy Writ and
'*suffer* joyfully some pain for it at the last[1].'

The last words were not allowed to remain without fulfilment. As long as the immediate influence of Wycliffe lasted the teaching of his followers was restrained within reasonable bounds. Times of anarchy and violence followed, and spiritual reform was confounded with the destruction of society. The preachers of the Bible gave occasion to their enemies to identify them with the enemies of order; and the re-establishment of a strong government led to the enactment of the statute *De hæretico comburendo* (2 Hen. IV.), which was soon put in force as a powerful check on heresy. It is impossible to determine whether the

The act de hæretico comburendo. A.D. 1401.

[1] *Prologue*, p. 60.

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Wycliffite Bible was among 'the books' mentioned in the preamble of the act by which the Lollards were said to excite the people to sedition[1]. Later parallels make it likely that it was so; but it was not long before the Version was directly assailed.

The convocation of Oxford, 1408.

In a convocation of the province of Canterbury held at Oxford under Archbishop Arundel in 1408, several constitutions were enacted against the party of the Reformation. The one on the use of the vernacular Scriptures is important both in form and substance. 'It is a dangerous thing,' so it runs, 'as witnesseth blessed St Jerome, to 'translate the text of the holy Scripture out of 'one tongue into another; for in the translation 'the same sense is not always easily kept, as the 'same St Jerome confesseth, that *although he were* '*inspired* (etsi inspiratus fuisset), yet oftentimes 'in this he erred; we therefore decree and or-'dain that no man hereafter by his own authority '(auctoritate suâ) translate any text of the Scrip-'ture into English or any other tongue, by way 'of a book, pamphlet, or treatise; and that no 'man read any such book, pamphlet or treatise, 'now lately composed in the time of John Wycliffe

[1] The Preamble is quoted by Mr Froude, *History of England*, II. 20.

'or since, or hereafter to be set forth in part or 'in whole, publicly or privately, upon pain of 'greater excommunication, until the said transla- 'tion be approved by the ordinary of the place 'or, if the case so require, by the council pro- 'vincial. He that shall do contrary to this shall 'likewise be punished as a favourer of heresy and 'error[1].' CHAP. I.

The Wycliffite Bible survives the fall of the Lollards.

Four years after came the insurrection and death of Sir John Oldcastle. A new and more stringent act was passed against heresy (2 Hen. V.), and the Lollards as a party were destroyed. But the English Bible survived their destruction. The terms of the condemnation under Archbishop Arundel were explicit, but it was practically ineffectual. No such approbation as was required, so far as we know, was ever granted, but the work was still transcribed for private use; and the manuscripts are themselves the best records of its history[2].

[1] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, III. 245 (whose translation I have generally followed). The original Latin is given in Wilkins' *Concilia*, III. 317.

[2] Two names however are connected too closely with Wycliffe to be omitted altogether. John of Gaunt vigorously supported Wycliffe in his endeavours to circulate an English version of the Bible, and after his death successfully opposed a Bill brought into the House of Lords, 1390, to forbid the circulation of the Scriptures in English (*Hist. Acc.* p. 33). Anne of Bohemia also, according to the testimony of Archbp. Arundel, 'constantly studied the four

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Manuscripts of Wycliffite Versions.

Of about one hundred and seventy copies of the whole or part of the Wycliffite versions which have been examined, fifteen of the Old Testament and eighteen of the New belong to the original version. The remainder are of Purvey's revision, which itself has in some very rare cases undergone another partial revision. Of these not one-fifth are of an earlier date than Arundel's condemnation. The greater part appear to have been written between 1420 and 1450; and what is a more interesting fact, nearly half the copies are of a small size, such as could be made the constant daily companions of their owners. Others again are noticeable for the rank of those by whom they were once possessed. One belonged to Humphrey, the 'good' duke of Gloucester: another to Henry VI, who gave it to the Charterhouse: another (apparently) to Richard III; another to Henry VII; another perhaps to Edward VI; and another was presented to Queen Elizabeth as a birth-day gift by her chaplain. There are yet other copies with interest of a different kind. One probably was that of Bp. Bonner: another records

Gospels in English' (Foxe, III. 202, ed. Townshend). The subsequent conduct of Arundel is not inconsistent with the belief that this version was Wycliffe's.

in a hand of the 16th century, that 'this ancient 'monument of Holy Scripture doth shew how the 'Lord God in all ages and times would have His 'blessed Word preserved for the comfort of His 'elect children and church in all times and ages in 'despite of Satan[1].'

Spread of the study of the Bible at the beginning of 16th century.

Thus the books themselves speak to us and witness of the work which they did[2]. In fact, they help us to understand Foxe's famous testimony that in 1520...'great multitudes...tasted 'and followed the sweetness of God's holy Word 'almost in as ample manner, for the number of 'well-disposed hearts, as now...Certes, the fervent

[1] But it must be observed that in spite of the wide circulation of the English Version the Latin Vulgate remained the Bible of those who could read, just as afterwards in Cranmer's time the interesting memorial of this remains. The 'Persones Tale' in Chaucer (c. 1380—1390) abounds in passages of the Bible in English. The Latin 'catchword' is very rarely given; and in no one case have I observed a real coincidence with either of the Wycliffite versions. On the contrary, the renderings differ from them more than might have been expected in contemporary versions of the same Latin text; and the same text (*e.g.* Acts iv. 12) is turned differently in different places. One or two examples are worth quoting.

Alas! I caitif man who shall deliver me fro the prison of my caitif body? (Rom. vii. 24).

An avaricious man is the thraldome of idolatrie (Eph. v. 5).

Go, sayd Jesu Crist, and have no more will to do sinne (John viii. 11).

[2] The editors of the Versions quote two instances of copies given to churches for ecclesiastical use at York (1394) and Bristol (1404): Forsh. and Madd. *Introd.* p. xxxii. n.

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'zeal of those Christian days seemed much superior to these our days and times, as manifestly 'may appear by their sitting up all night in reading 'and hearing; also by their expenses and charges 'in buying books in English, of whom some gave 'five marks [equal to about £40 in our money] 'some more, some less for a book: some gave a 'load of hay for a few chapters of St James or of 'St Paul in English...To see their travails, their 'earnest seekings, their burning zeal, their readings, 'their watchings, their sweet assemblies...may make 'us now in these days of free profession, to blush 'for shame'[1]. So Foxe wrote in 1563, and after three centuries the contrast is still to our sorrow.

[1] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, IV. 217 f.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRINTED BIBLE.

This is the doctrine simple, ancient, true;
  Such is life's trial, as old earth smiles and knows.
If you loved only what were worth your love,
Love were clear gain and wholly well for you:
  Make the low nature better by your throes!
Give earth yourself, go up for gain above!

CHAPTER II.

THE PRINTED BIBLE.

The Circulation of the Manuscript Bible precarious and limited.

THE general testimony of Foxe to the circulation of the English Scriptures at the beginning of the 16th century, which has been just quoted, is illustrated by several special incidents, which he records. These however shew at the same time that the circulation and study of the manuscripts was both precarious and perilous. 'I did once,' says Lambert in 1538, 'see a book of the New 'Testament, which was not unwritten by my esti-'mation this hundred years, and in my mind right 'well translated after the example of that which is 'read in the Church in Latin. But he that shewed 'it me said, he durst not be known to have it by 'him, for many had been punished aforetime for 'keeping of such, and were convicted therefore of 'heresy[1].' And that this fear was not ungrounded

[1] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. 213.

CHAP. II. EXTERNAL HISTORY.

may be seen by the registers of the dioceses of Norwich and Lincoln, which contain several examples of men charged before the bishops with the offence of reading or perusing 'the New Law' (that is, the New Testament) in English[1].

Influence of the study of Greek in the 16th century.

But meanwhile a momentous change had passed over Western Europe. 'Greece,' in the striking language of an English scholar, 'had risen from 'the grave with the New Testament in her hand;' and the Teutonic nations had welcomed the gift. It had been long felt on all sides that the Latin Bible of the mediæval Church could no longer satisfy the wants of the many nations of a divided world. Before the end of the 15th century Bibles were printed in Spanish, Italian, French, Dutch, German and Bohemian; while England as yet had only the few manuscripts of the Wycliffite versions. But like Wycliffe's, these were only secondary versions from the Vulgate. The Hebrew text of the Old Testament was published as early as 1488, though very few except Jews could use it; but the Greek text of the New Testament was not yet printed. Scholars however were being duly trained for the work of direct translation. The passionate declamation then current against Hebrew

[1] Foxe, *ib.* IV. 217 ff.

and Greek shew that the study of both was popular and advancing[1]. And England, though late to begin, eagerly followed up the 'new learning[2].' From 1509 to 1524 Erasmus was Professor of Greek at Cambridge, and, as appears probable, it was the fame of his lectures which drew there William Tyndale about the year 1510, to whom it has been allowed more than to any other man to give its characteristic shape to our English Bible. And the man, as we shall see, was not unworthy of the glorious honour for the attainment of which indeed he lived equally and died.

§ 1. Tyndale.

1. Tyndale.

With Tyndale the history of our present English Bible begins; and for fifteen years the history of the Bible is almost identical with the history of Tyndale. The fortunes of both if followed out in detail are even of romantic interest. Of the early life of Tyndale we know nothing. He was born about 1484, at an obscure village in Gloucestershire, and 'brought up from a child,' as Foxe says, in the University of Oxford, where he was 'singu-

[1] See Chap. III.

[2] According to Erasmus England was second only to Italy and in advance of France and Germany. Erasmus himself studied Greek at Oxford. Compare Hallam, *Introduction to Lit. of Europe*, I. pp. 269 f.

CHAP. II. EXTERNAL HISTORY.

'larly addicted to the study of the Scriptures[1].' From Oxford he went to Cambridge, and after spending some time there, as we have noticed, he returned about 1520 to his native county as tutor in the family of Sir John Walsh of Little Sodbury. Here he spent two years, not without many controversies, in one of which he made his memorable declaration, that 'if God spared him life, ere many 'years he would cause a boy that driveth a plough 'to know more of the Scriptures than [the pope] 'did[2].' The boast was not an idle phrase. Erasmus had published the Greek Testament for the first time, with a new Latin version in 1516, before Tyndale left Cambridge, and he must have been acquainted with the effect which its introduction there had immediately produced[3]. At the same

[1] He studied in Magdalen Hall, called *Grammar* Hall from the labours of Grocyn, W. Latimer and Linacre there in favour of classical learning (Anderson, I. 26).

Mr Fry informs me that the MS. quoted in the *Historical Account*, p. 41 n., purporting to contain translations by Tyndale ('W. T.') from the New Testament and dated 1502, was unquestionably a forgery. The MS. was afterwards burnt; but the fac-simile of a single page, for the sight of which I am indebted to Mr Fry, seems absolutely conclusive as to its spuriousness.

[2] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. 117. The second part of the answer is in an oblique form in Foxe, but the context shews clearly that the 'he' is the Pope and not the priest with whom Tyndale was talking.

[3] One memorable instance of its influence is seen in the narrative of Bilney, afterwards martyred in 1531, who was first

time, as he tells us, he 'perceived by experience, 'how that it was impossible to establish the lay 'people in any truth except the Scripture were 'plainly laid before their eyes in their mother 'tongue, that they might see the process, order 'and meaning of the text'...'This thing,' he says, 'only moved me to translate the New Testament[1].'

His failure with the bishop of London.

When his enemies grew so powerful as to endanger his patron, 'I gat me,' he says, to 'London.' 'If I might come to the bishop of London's service —Tunstall, of whose love of scholarship Erasmus had spoken highly—'thought I, I were happy.' By this time he knew what his work was, and he was resolutely set to accomplish it[2]. At the same

roused to a lively faith by reading in Erasmus' edition, 1 Tim. i. 15, as he narrates in touching words in a letter addressed to Tunstal: Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, IV. 635. Bilney's Latin Bible is still preserved with many passages marked, and among them the one on which he dwelt most in the night before his death. Anderson, I. p. 301.

It is not indeed unlikely, as has been pointed out by the author of the *Historical Account* (p. 44), that the saying of Tyndale given above was suggested by a phrase in the *Exhortation* of Erasmus. 'I would,' he writes, 'that the husbandman at the plough should sing something from hence [the Gospels and Epistles].'

[1] *Preface to Pentateuch*, p. 396 (Park. Soc.).

[2] No phrase could more completely misrepresent Tyndale's character than that by which Mr Froude has thought right to describe him at this time—'the young dreamer' (II. 30). Tyndale could not have been much less than forty years old at the time, and he was less of a 'dreamer' even than Luther. From the first he had exactly measured the cost of his work;

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time he was prepared to furnish the bishop for whose countenance he looked with an adequate test of his competency. The claim which he preferred was supported by a translation of a speech of Isocrates from the Greek. 'But God,' he continues, and the story can only be given fitly in his own words, 'saw that I was beguiled, and that the 'counsel was not the next way to my purpose'— to translate the Scriptures — 'and therefore He 'gat me no favour in my lord's sight. Whereupon 'my lord answered me, his house was full: he had 'more than he could well find; and advised me to 'seek in London, where he said I could not lack 'a service.'

Entertained by H. Munmouth.

The bishop's prediction was fulfilled in a way which he could not have anticipated. Tyndale had indeed already found a friend ready to help him in an alderman of London, Humphrey Munmouth. Munmouth, who was afterwards (1528) thrown into the Tower for the favour which he had shewn Tyndale and other reformers, has left an interesting account of his acquaintance with him in a petition which he addressed to Wolsey to obtain his release. 'I heard [Tyndale]' he writes

and when he had once made his resolve to translate the Scriptures, he never afterwards lost sight of it, and never failed in doing what he proposed to do.

'preach two or three sermons at St Dunstan's in 'the West in London, and after that I chanced to 'meet with him, and with communication I ex- 'amined what living he had. He said he had none 'at all, but he trusted to be with my lord of Lon- 'don, in his service, and therefore I had the better 'fantasy to him. Afterward [when this hope failed 'he]...came to me again, and besought me to help 'him; and so I took him into my house half a 'year; and there he lived like a good priest as 'methought. He studied most part of the day 'and of the night at his book; and he would eat 'but sodden meat by his good will, nor drink but 'small single beer. I never saw him wear linen 'about him in the space he was with me. I did 'promise him ten pounds sterling to pray for my 'father and mother their souls and all Christian 'souls. I did pay it when he made his exchange 'to Hamburgh[1].'

This time of waiting was not lost upon Tyndale. In the busy conflicts and intrigues of city life he learnt what had been hidden from him in the retirement of the country. 'In London' he continues 'I abode almost a year, and marked the 'course of the world...and understood at the last

[1] Foxe, IV. 617, App. to Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* No. 89.

CHAP. II. EXTERNAL HISTORY.

'not only that there was no room in my lord of 'London's palace to translate the New Testament, 'but also that there was no place to do it in all 'England...[1].'

His retirement to the Continent.

So he left his native country for ever, to suffer, as he elsewhere says, 'poverty, exile, bitter absence 'from friends, hunger and thirst and cold, great 'dangers and innumerable other hard and sharp 'fightings[2],' but yet to achieve his work and after death to force even Tunstall to set his name upon it.

He begins to print his New Testament. 1525.

Tyndale's first place of refuge was Hamburgh. He remained there during the year 1524[3] and published, as it seems, the gospels of St Matthew and St Mark separately with marginal notes. In the next year he went to Cologne and there proceeded to print his first complete New Testament, the translation of which he had accomplished alone[4].

[1] *Preface* l. c.

[2] Report of Vaughan to Henry VIII., quoted by Anderson, I. 272.

[3] Mr Anderson successfully disposes of the common tradition that he visited Luther at this time: I. pp. 45 ff. Luther indeed was otherwise engaged.

[4] Fryth did not join him till 1526; and there is no evidence that either his amanuensis Roye, or Joy, if he was with him at the time, had any share in the translation. The date of the printing of the New Testament is established by the use of a woodcut as the frontispiece to St Matthew which was afterwards cut down and used in an edition of Rupert of Deutz, finished June 12, 1526. Anderson, I. p. 63.

It was a time of sore trial for the Reformers. Luther's marriage troubled some. His breach with Karlstadt alienated others. The rising of the peasants furnished a ready pretext to the lukewarm for confounding the new doctrines with revolutionary license. But Tyndale laboured on in silence, and ten sheets of his Testament were printed in quarto when his work was stopped by the intrigues of Cochlæus, a relentless enemy of the Reformation.

Cochlæus' accounts of Tyndale's first attempt to print his New Testament.

It is a strange and vivid picture which Cochlæus, who is the historian of his own achievement, draws of the progress and discovery of the work. The translation of 'the New Testament of Luther' —so he calls it—was, in his eyes, part of a great scheme for converting all England to Lutheranism. The expense, as he learnt, was defrayed by English merchants; and their design was only betrayed by their excess of confidence. But though Cochlæus was aware of the design, he could not for some time find any clue to the office where it was being executed. At last becoming familiar with the printers of Cologne while engaged on a book to be published there, he heard them in unguarded moments boast of the revolution which would be shortly wrought in England. The clue was not neglected. He invited some of them to his house,

CHAP. II. EXTERNAL HISTORY.

and plying them with wine learned where three thousand copies of the English Testament were being worked off, for speedy and secret distribution through England. He took immediate measures to secure the aid of the authorities of the city for checking the work. The printers were forbidden to proceed, but Tyndale and Roye taking their printed sheets with them escaped to Worms by ship. Cochlæus—it was all he could then do—warned Henry, Wolsey, and Fisher of the peril to which they were exposed, that so they might take measures 'to prevent the importation of the per-'nicious merchandise.'

Tyndale finishes two editions at Worms.

Meanwhile Tyndale pursued his work under more favourable circumstances. The place to which he fled was already memorable in the annals of the Reformation. It was then not much more than four years since the marvellous scene when Luther entered Worms (1521) to bear witness before the Emperor. But within that time the city had 'be-'come wholly Lutheran[1].' So Tyndale found a safe retreat there, and prepared two editions of his New Testament instead of one. The edition, which had been commenced at Cologne, was in quarto and furnished with marginal glosses. A descrip-

[1] Anderson, 1. p. 64, quoting Cochlæus and Seckendorf.

tion of this had been sent to England by Cochlæus, and therefore, as it seems, to baffle his enemies Tyndale commenced a new edition in small octavo without glosses. This octavo edition was finished first. In a short epistle to the reader, which is placed at the end, the translator apologizes for 'the rudeness of the work' then first accomplished: 'Count it' he says 'as a thing not having his full 'shape, but as it were born afore his time, even as 'a thing begun rather than finished. In time to 'come, if God have appointed us thereunto, we will 'give it his full shape, and put out if ought be 'added superfluously: and add to, if ought be over-'seen through negligence: and will enforce to bring 'to compendiousness that which is now translated 'at the length, and to give light where it is required, 'and to seek in certain places more proper English, 'and with a table to expound the words which are 'not commonly used, and shew how the scripture 'useth many words which are otherwise understood 'of the common people: and to help with a decla-'ration where one tongue taketh not another.' The whole book then closes with the characteristic words: 'Pray for us.'

in octavo,

The words just quoted in part describe the general Prologue and glosses with which the quarto

and quarto.

CHAP. II. EXTERNAL HISTORY.

edition was furnished, and Tyndale appears to have lost no time in completing this interrupted work[1]. Both editions reached England without any indication of the translator's name[2] early in 1526; and, as might have been expected, the quarto edition first attracted attention, while for a short time the undescribed octavo escaped notice.

Lee's Letter to Henry VIII. Dec. 2, 1525.

Before the books arrived Henry VIII. had received a second warning of the impending danger from his almoner Lee, afterwards archbishop of York, who was then on the continent. Writing to the king from Bordeaux on Dec. 2nd, 1525, Lee says: 'Please your highness to understand that I

[1] The quarto edition was commenced by Quentel. The octavo was printed by P. Schoeffer, the son of one of the first great triumvirate of printers. The same printer, it has been conjectured, completed the quarto; but of this there is no direct evidence, as the Grenville Fragment contains only sheets A—H, while A—K were printed by Quentel. There is not however any reasonable doubt that the quarto edition was completed about the same time as the first octavo, and therefore it seems likely that it was completed at Worms and by Schoeffer. Two editions, a large and a small, one with and one without glosses, made their appearance simultaneously in England. Three thousand copies of the first sheets of the quarto were struck off and six thousand is said to have been the whole number of New Testaments printed. Moreover it is not likely that Tyndale would allow the sheets which he rescued to lie idle. For specimens of the Glosses, see App. v.

[2] Tyndale's name was attached to the *Parable of the wicked Mammon* in 1527, and he there gives his reasons for printing his New Testament anonymously. In the revised edition (1534) his name was added.

'am certainly informed, as I passed in this country, 'that an Englishman at the solicitation and instance of Luther, with whom he is, hath translated the New Testament into English, and within 'few days intendeth to return with the same imprinted into England. I need not to advertise 'your grace what infection and danger may ensue 'hereby if it be not withstanded. This is the next 'way to fulfil your realm with Lutherans.' And then he adds, 'All our forefathers, governors of 'the Church of England, have with all diligence 'forbid and eschewed publication of English Bibles, 'as appeareth in constitutions provincial of the 'Church of England[1]...'

The account which reached Lee's ears had travelled far and was inaccurate in its details; but the swiftness with which it reached him is a proof of the interest which Cochlæus' discovery excited. Another notice of Tyndale's translation which appears in the diary of a German scholar under August 1526 is more truthful and full of interest. After mentioning other subjects of conversation at the dinner table, as the war with the Turks, the exhaustion of the bishops by the peasants' war, the

The work a subject of conversation abroad.

[1] For this letter I am indebted to Mr Froude, *Hist. of England*, II. 31.

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literary troubles of Erasmus, he adds, one told us that '6000 copies of the English Testament had 'been printed at Worms. That it was translated 'by an Englishman who lived there with two of 'his countrymen, who was so complete a master of 'seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, 'Spanish, English, French, that you would fancy 'that whichever one he spoke in was his mother 'tongue. He added that the English, in spite of 'the active opposition of the king, were so eager 'for the Gospel as to affirm that they would buy 'a New Testament even if they had to give a 'hundred thousand pieces of money for it[1].'

Reception of the Books in England.

The reception of the books in England answered to these anticipations. They were eagerly bought, and as eagerly proscribed and sought out for destruction. Sir T. More fiercely attacked the translation as ignorant, dishonest and heretical[2].

[1] Etiamsi centenis millibus æris sit redimendum. Diary of Spalatinus under 'Sunday after St Laurence's Day, 1526,' given in Schelhorn, *Amæn. Liter.* IV. 431 (ed. 1730). The enumeration of languages is 'Hebraicæ, Græcæ, Latinæ, Italicæ, Hispanicæ, Britannicæ, *Gallicæ*.' The passage is falsely quoted in the life of Tyndale prefixed to the edition of Park. Soc. with '*Dutch*' (*i. e.* German) for 'French' (p. xxx. n.). The error is important.

[2] His great charge was the disregard of 'ecclesiastical terms,' 'church, priest, charity, grace, confess, penance,' for which Tyndale substituted 'congregation, elder, love, favour, knowledge, repentance.' Tyndale's reply is full of interest.

A similar charge against the

By the advice of Wolsey the king at once condemned it to be burnt[1]. In the autumn Tunstall and Warham issued mandates for the collection and surrender of copies[2]. Tunstall attacked it in a Sermon at Paul's Cross, and professed to have found 2000 errors in it: 'and truly,' writes one who heard him, 'my heart lamented greatly to 'hear a great man preaching against [the New 'Testament], which shewed forth certain things 'that he noted for hideous errors to be in it, that 'I, yea, and not I, but likewise did many other, 'think to be none[3].' When threats and arguments failed, the books were bought up and burnt in Antwerp and London and Oxford[4]. Diplomacy

translation was made by R. Ridley (uncle of N. Ridley). Writing in Feb. 1527 to the chaplain of Archbp. Warham he says; 'By 'this translation we lose all these 'Christian words *penance*, *cha-* '*rity*, *confession*, *grace*, *priest*, '*church*, which he always calleth 'a congregation; as if so many 'Turks or irrational animals were 'not a congregation, except he 'wishes them also to be a church. '*Idolatria* calleth he 'worship- 'ping of images.'... 'Ye shall 'not need to accuse this transla- 'tion. It is accused and damned 'by the consent of the prelates 'and learned men; and com- 'manded to be burnt, both here 'and beyond the sea where is 'many hundred of them burnt; 'so that it is too late now to ask 'reason why that be condemned 'and which be the faults and 'errors...' (Anderson, I. 153 ff.).

[1] Anderson, I. p. 113. A more explicit condemnation followed in 1529 (Anderson, I. p. 232); and again in 1530.

[2] Given by Anderson, I. p. 118.

[3] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, V. 213.

[4] As early as 1526, but the great burning was in 1530. Compare also Anderson, I. p. 214 and below pp. 49, 51.

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was invoked to restrain the printers. But all was in vain. The tide was fairly flowing and it could not be checked. A formidable popular organization was ready in England to welcome the books and to spread them. Numerous agents were employed both in importing them from Holland and in circulating them. There is even something quaintly human in watching the spirit of the trader shewing itself in this sacred work. One John Tyball came with a friend to London (1526) to buy one of Tyndale's New Testaments. After giving some proof of their sincerity they shewed 'the 'Friar Barnes of certain old books that they had, 'as of the four Evangelists and certain epistles 'of Peter and Paul in English, which books the 'said Friar did little regard, and made a twit 'of it and said "a point for them! for they be '"not to be regarded toward the new *printed* Testa-'"ment in English; for it is of more cleaner '"English." And then the said Friar Barnes de-'livered to them the said New Testament in 'English...and after...did liken the New Testament 'in Latin to "a cymbal tinkling and brass sound-'"ing"[1].' Thus by 1530 swiftly and silently six editions, of which three were surreptitious, were

[1] Deposition of John Tyball, Strype's *Memorials*, I. 131 App. 55.

dispersed, and Tyndale could feel that so far his work was substantially indestructible. He had anticipated its immediate fate. 'In burning the 'New Testament,' he wrote soon after the book reached England (1527), 'they did none other 'thing than I looked for; no more shall they do if 'they burn me also, if it be God's will it shall so 'be. Nevertheless in translating the New Testa-'ment I did my duty and so do I now....'[1] Yet so fierce and systematic was the persecution both now and afterwards, that of these six editions, numbering perhaps 15,000 copies, there remains of the first one fragment only, which was found about thirty years ago, attached to another tract[2]; of the second, one copy, wanting the title-page, and another very imperfect[3]; and of the others, two or three copies, which are not however satisfactorily identified[4].

[1] Preface to *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, I. p. 44.

[2] At present in the Grenville Library in the British Museum.

[3] The first, which is in the Library of the Baptist College at Bristol, has been reproduced in fac-simile by Mr Fry: the second is in the Library of St Paul's, London. The Bristol copy has richly illuminated capitals, and was evidently designed for a wealthy purchaser. Marginal references are also added, perhaps by the illuminator, which are generally but not always identical with those in the edition of 1534. A very few notes in Latin and English were added by an early hand, but they are of no special interest.

[4] Of these three editions one

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The English New Testament at Oxford.

Two characteristic incidents will be sufficient to shew the strength and weakness of the popular movement to which the origin and circulation of the translation was due. Among the first to receive a consignment of Tyndale's Testaments was Thomas Garret, curate of All Hallow's, Cheapside. When tidings of the importation were obtained by the government early in 1526, suspicion at once fell upon him. Wolsey searched 'in all London' for him, but found that he was 'gone to Oxford to 'make sale of [the books] there to such as he 'knew to be lovers of the Gospel,' for this was not his first labour of the kind. A messenger was despatched thither to apprehend him, but the timely warning of a friend gave him an opportunity of escaping. But 'after that he was gone 'a day's journey and a half he was so fearful that 'his heart would no other but that he must needs 'return unto Oxford.' He was immediately apprehended, but again escaped from custody and sought out the friend Dalaber, who has recorded

was printed by Endhoven, and the two others by Ruremonde, but all at Antwerp: Anderson, I. 129—133; 163—165. The Dutch copy in the Library of Emm. Coll. Cambridge, as Dr Cotton points out, is Coverdale's and not Tyndale's version. It is very probable that other editions existed of which no trace has yet been discovered.

the story. With 'deep sighs and plenty of tears 'he prayed me,' Dalaber writes, 'to help to convey 'him away, and so he cast off his hood and his 'gown wherein he came unto me, and desired me 'to give him a coat with sleeves, if I had any; 'and told me that he would go into Wales and 'thence convey himself to Germany if he might. 'Then I put on him a sleeved coat of mine, of fine 'cloth in grain, which my mother had given me. 'He would have another manner of cap of me, but 'I had none but priest-like, such as his own was. 'Then kneeled we both down together on our 'knees, lifting up our hearts and hands to God, 'our heavenly Father, desiring him with plenty of 'tears so to conduct and prosper him in his journey 'that he might well escape the danger of his ene-'mies, to the glory of His holy Name, if His good 'pleasure and will so were. And then we em-'braced and kissed one the other ... and so he 'departed from me apparelled in my coat...' But when Garret thus fled others remained behind not unworthy to carry on his work. 'When he was 'gone down the stairs from my chamber,' Dalaber continues, 'I straightway did shut my chamber-'door and went into my study shutting the door 'unto me, and took the New Testament [of Eras-

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'mus' translation][1] in my hands, kneeled down 'on my knees, and with many a deep sigh and 'salt tear, I did with much deliberation read over 'the tenth chapter of St Matthew's Gospel; and 'when I had so done, with fervent prayer I did 'commit unto God that our dearly beloved brother 'Garret, earnestly beseeching Him in and for Jesus 'Christ's sake, His only begotten Son our Lord, 'that He would vouchsafe not only safely to 'conduct and keep our said dear brother from 'the hands of all his enemies; but also that He 'would endue His tender and lately born little 'flock in Oxford with heavenly strength by His 'Holy Spirit, that they might be well able thereby 'valiantly to withstand to His glory all their fierce 'enemies, and also might quietly to their own 'salvation with all godly patience bear Christ's 'heavy cross, which I now saw was presently to be 'laid on their young and weak backs, unable to 'bear so huge a one without the great help of His 'Holy Spirit. This done I laid aside my books 'safe'...Within a short interval Garret was brought back to Oxford[2]. By this time numerous disco-

[1] The words in [ ] are printed by Townshend without note or distinction from the text.

[2] The date of these events is somewhat obscure. It is examined carefully by Mr Anderson (I. 97), and his reasons for fixing them in 1526 appear to be

veries had been made. Forbidden books had been found carefully secreted. The Cardinal's College, which had received a large infusion of Cambridge men, was deeply infected with the new heresy. But for the moment old influences were too powerful. The 'lately born flock' was not ripe for the trial. Before many days were over Garret and Dalaber took a principal part in a public act of penance in company with Fryth and Taverner and Coxe and Udall and Ferrar and many others destined to play an important part in the coming struggle of the Reformation. One detail of their punishment was to throw a book into a fire kindled at Carfax. The procession passed away, the fire died out, the books were consumed, and such was the end of the first appearance of Tyndale's New Testament at Oxford[1].

The New Testament at Cambridge *and* London.

Meanwhile similar events were passing at Cambridge. The spirit of heresy had penetrated there earlier and deeper than at Oxford. Bilney, Latimer, and Barnes, men of distinction in the University and not young students, were its represen-

satisfactory. On the other hand, one letter referring to the confession of Garret is dated 1528, and Mr Froude refers the events to that year. It is possible that Foxe has mixed together events of different years.

[1] The original history is given by Foxe, v. 421 ff; and App. No. VI.

tatives. Their position made them bold. At the close of 1525 Barnes preached a sermon in which he criticized among other things the luxury of Wolsey. This personal attack gave force to the accusation against him, which after a little delay was laid before the Cardinal. The messenger who came early in February of the next year to search for books, when the search was made at Oxford, was again anticipated by private information. The books were placed carefully beyond his reach, but he arrested Barnes. With such an offender the process was short and simple. After he had appeared before the court the choice was left him of abjuration or the stake. A bitter struggle revealed his present weakness, and on the next Sunday in company with some German traders—'Stillyard men'—committed 'for Luther's books and Lollardy,' he performed a memorable penance in St Paul's[1]. 'The Cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of 'the stairs for himself, with six-and-thirty Abbots, 'mitred Priors and Bishops, and he in his whole 'pomp mitred, which Barnes spoke against, sat 'there enthronised. His chaplains and spiritual 'doctors, in gowns of damask and satin, and he

[1] Mr Froude places this event in 1527. The narrative is given by Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. 414 ff.

'himself in purple, even like a bloody antichrist. 'And there was a new pulpit erected on the top of 'the stairs also for Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester, 'to preach against Luther and Barnes; and great 'baskets full of books standing before them within 'the rails, which were commanded after the great 'fire was made before the Rood of Northen[1] there 'to be burned; and these heretics after the sermon 'to go thrice about the fire and to cast in their 'faggots.' The ceremony was duly enacted. Barnes humbly acknowledged the mercy which he had received, and the obnoxious books were burnt. 'And so the Cardinal,' Foxe continues with grave humour, 'departed under a canopy with all his 'mitred men with him, till he came to the second 'gate of Paul's; and then he took his mule and 'the mitred men came back again[2].'

Tyndale's comment.

The tidings of this scene and of Fisher's sermon reached Tyndale. 'Mark, I pray you,' he wrote not long afterwards, 'what an orator Ro-'chester is, and how vehemently he persuadeth it! 'Martin Luther hath burned the pope's decretals:

[1] The crucifix, that is, 'towards the great north door, whereunto oblations were frequently made, whereof the deacons and canons had the benefit.' Dugdale, *Hist. of St Paul's*, p. 15.

[2] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. 418.

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'a manifest sign, saith he, that he would have 'burned the pope's holiness also, if he had had 'him! A like argument, which I suppose to be 'rather true, I make: Rochester and his holy 'brethren have burnt Christ's Testament: an evi-'dent sign verily, that they would have burnt 'Christ Himself also, if they had had Him[1].' But so it was that for a while the persecution triumphed. The faith of the confessors was not yet purified and strengthened.

Fourteen years later (1540) Barnes and Garret were martyred together, two days after the execution of Crumwell.

Progress of the demand for the English Bible.

Even within a short time this zeal of persecution brought out into greater prominence the extent of the movement against which it was directed. One of those who had originally (June, 1527) contributed money for the purpose of buying up of Tyndale's Testaments was Nix, bishop of Norwich[2]. This singular plan for stopping the sale of the books having failed, Nix wrote three years afterwards in deep distress to archbishop Warham to obtain some more effectual interference in the

[1] *Obedience of a Christian Man*, p. 221 (A.D. 1527). I owe the passage to Mr Anderson, I. p. 107.

[2] His letter is given by Anderson, I. p. 158.

matter. His letter is in every way so quaint and characteristic that it must be quoted in its original form:

Bp. Nix's Complaint.

'I am accombred with such as kepith and 'redith these arronious boks in English.... My 'Lorde, I have done that lieth in me for the 'suppresion of suche parsons; but it passith my 'power or any spiritual man for to do it; for 'dyverse saith openly in my diocesse that the 'king's grace wolde that they shulde have the 'saide arroneous boks....And they [with whom 'I confer] say that whersomever they go they here 'say that the king's pleasure is the Newe Testa- 'ment in English shal go forth and men sholde 'have it and read it; and from that opinion I can 'no wise induce them but I had gretter auctoritie 'to punyshe them than I have. Wherefore I be- 'seiche your good Lordshep....that a remedy may 'be had. For, now it may be done wel in my 'diocesse; for the gentilmen and commenty be 'not greatly infect, but marchants and such that 'hath ther abyding not ferre from the see...There 'is a Collage in Cambridge called Gunvel haule '[Gonville and Caius College], of the foundation 'of a bp. of Norwich. I here of no Clerk that 'hath commen ought lately of that Collage but

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'saverith of the frying pan tho he speke never so 'holely[1]'...

Archbp. Warham's Assembly. 1530 May 24.

The fears and wishes of Nix were probably shared by a large party in England, and ten days after he wrote an imposing assembly was convened by archbishop Warham, at which the errors of Tyndale and his friends were formally denounced, and a bill drawn up to be published by preachers. In this it was stated, among other things, that, in spite of the widespread feeling to the contrary, it was not part of the King's duty to cause the Scriptures to be circulated among the people in the vulgar tongue. And that he 'by the advice 'and deliberation of his council, and the agreement 'of great learned men, thinketh in his conscience 'that the divulging of this Scripture at this time 'in the English tongue to be committed to the 'people, should rather be to the further confu-'sion and distraction than the edification of their 'souls[2].' Thus in the very condemnation of the vernacular Bible, the general demand for it is acknowledged, and a translation is only deferred till a more convenient opportunity, which was nearer at hand than More or Tunstall could have ima-

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, 695 f. App. XII. The letter is dated May 14th.

[2] Wilkins' *Concilia*, III. 736.

gined. Even in Warham's assembly 'there were' on Latimer's testimony 'three or four that would 'have had the Scripture to go forth in English.' 'The which thing also your grace,' so he writes to the King, 'hath promised by your last procla-'mation: the which promise I pray God that 'your gracious Highness may shortly perform, 'even to-day before to-morrow. Nor let the wick-'edness of these worldly men detain you from 'your godly purpose and promise.'

Thus the first battle for the Bible was being fought in England. Meanwhile the work had advanced one step further abroad. Very early in the same year Tyndale had continued his work by publishing separately translations of Genesis and Deuteronomy. In the following year all the books of the Pentateuch were collected into a volume and furnished with a preface. The marginal glosses with which they are annotated are full of interest and strongly controversial. The spirit and even the style of Luther is distinctly visible in them. In the directness and persistency of their polemics against Rome they differ much from the glosses in the quarto Testament. Thus Tyndale finds in the ceremonies of the Jewish Church the origin of the Romish

Progress of Tyndale.

Pentateuch.

The marginal glosses of the Pentateuch.

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rites (note on Ex. xxviii). For example, on Ex. xxi. 37, he adds, 'Touch not the chalice nor the 'altar-stone, nor holy oil, and hold your hand out 'of the font.' On Ex. xxxvi. 5, he writes: 'When will the Pope say Hoo (hold!) and forbid 'to offer for the building of St Peter's church? 'And when will our spirituality say Hoo! and 'forbid to give them more land, and to make 'more foundations? Never until they have all.' Even Tyndale too could descend to a pleasantry like Luther. Thus on Ex. xxxii. 35, he remarks, 'The Pope's Bull slayeth more than Aaron's calf...' The tonsure is criticized Levit. xxi. 5, 'Of the 'heathen priests then took our prelates the ensam- 'ple of their bald pates.' One grim touch of satire may be added, Deut. xi. 19, 'Talk of them '[the Lord's words] when thou sittest in thine 'house.' 'Talk of Robin Hood, say our prelates.'

The translation of Jonah, 1534.

Three years later (1534) the book of Jonah[1] with an important Prologue appeared, but no more of Tyndale's work on the Old Testament was published during his lifetime, except the 'Epistles from the Old Testament,' which were

[1] Of this a single copy was found in 1861 by Lord A. Hervey, which was reproduced in facsimile by Mr Fry, 1863. For a comparison of the version with that of Coverdale, see p. 88.

added to the revised edition of his New Testament. For in the midst of his constant perils and anxieties from within and from without Tyndale found time to revise his New Testament carefully. The immediate occasion for the publication of his work was the appearance of an unauthorized revision in August 1534, by George Joye. The demand for the New Testaments which appears to have slackened since 1530, was again so great that three surreptitious editions were printed at Antwerp in that year; and Joye undertook to revise the sheets of a fourth edition. In doing this he made use, as he says, of the Latin text, and aimed at giving 'many words their pure and 'native signification.' The title of the book is singularly affected[1], and the alterations were such

Joye's New Testament.

[1] The New Testament as it was written and caused to be written by them which herde yt, whom also oure Saueoure Christ Jesus commaunded that they shulde preach it vnto al creatures.

At the end of the New Testament is this colophon:

Here endeth the New Testament, diligently ouersene and corrected, and prynted now agayn at Antwerpe by me wydowe of Christoffel of Endouē. In the yere of oure Lorde M.CCCCC and XXXIIII, in August.

One copy only of this edition is known, which is in the Grenville Library in the British Museum.

It is not true, as is commonly said, that Joye 'expunged' the word 'resurrection' from his New Testament. It stands in such critical passages as Acts xvii. 18, 32; i. 22; iv. 2, &c.; 1 Cor. xv. 12, &c.; nor did Tyndale bring this charge against him, but that 'throughout Mat.

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as to arouse the just indignation of Tyndale, whose name however is nowhere connected with the version. Among other new renderings Tyndale specially notices that of '*the life after this*' for '*resurrection*.' Still Joye does not avoid the word 'resurrection;' and if this were the only change, the particular substitution would be of little moment in the connexion where it occurs; but comparatively few paragraphs are left wholly untouched as far as I have examined the book. One continuous passage will exhibit Joye's mode of dealing with the text. The words in italics are variations from Tyndale:

'That *thing* (om. T.) which was from the be-'ginning declare we unto you, (add. *concerning* T.

'Mark and Luke perpetually, 'and often in the Acts, and 'sometimes in John, and also 'in the Hebrews, where he find-'eth this word "Resurrection," 'he changeth it into the "life 'after this life," or "very life," 'and such like, as one that ab-'horred the name of the resur-'rection.' (*W. T. yet once more to the Christian reader*, in the N. T. of 1534.) Thus in Matt. xxii. 23, 30, we read 'life after 'this;' xxii. 31, 'the life of 'them that be dead.' So also Luke xx. 27, 33, 36 (children of that life). John v. 29 is translated 'and shall come forth, 'they that have done good unto 'the very life, and they that 'have done evil into the life of 'damnation.' In John xi. 23, 24 the word 'resurrection' is retained. From these examples it is obvious that Joye's object was simply exegetical in the particular passages which he altered, and that he had no desire to expunge the idea or the word 'resurrection' from his version. Later writers have not dealt justly with him.

'1st ed.) which we have heard, which we have seen 'with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and 'our hands have handled; *even that same thing* '*which is* (*of the word of* T.) life. For *that* (*the* T.) 'life appeared, and we have seen *it* (om. T.), *where-*'*fore we* (*and* T.) bear witness and shew unto you 'that eternal life, which was with the Father and 'appeared unto us. That *same thing* (om. T.) which 'we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that 'ye may have fellowship with us, and that our 'fellowship may be with the Father and His Son 'Jesus Christ[1].' (1 John i. 1—3.)

Several of the changes noticed are suggested by the Vulgate; others are due apparently only to a mistaken effort to obtain clearness: none mark a critical examination of the original. But Joye knew that Tyndale was studying the Greek afresh for his revised edition, which he had had some time in hand, and so he might well be said not to have 'used the office of an honest man.' However

Tyndale's revised edition, 1534.

[1] In John i. 1—18 the following noticeable variations occur:

1 *that* Word: and *God was that Word.* 4 life (om. *the*). 5 darkness (om. *the*). 10 and the world (om. *yet*). 11 *into* his own and his (om. *own*) received. 15 bare witness of him, saying. 16 *favour* for *favour*. 17 *favour* and *verity*.

In Ephes. i. again these are found:

5 that we should be *chosen to be* heirs. 6 in *his* beloved *son*. 8 wisdom and *prudency*. 13 the Gospel of your *health*. 18 what *thing* that hope is.

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Tyndale's own work was ready in the November of the same year. The text was not only revised, but furnished also with short marginal notes. Prologues were added to the several books[1]; the beginnings and endings of the lessons read in Church were marked; and a translation of 'the 'Epistles taken out of the Old Testament, which 'are read in the Church after the Use of Salisbury 'upon certain days of the year,' which include a large number of fragments from the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, classed together by Tyndale under one head[2].

[1] On the relation of these Prologues to Luther's, see Chap. III.

[2] The relation of these 'Epistles' to the text of Tyndale's containing translations of the Old Testament will be noticed afterwards. The following is (I hope) an accurate list of them. Gen. xxxviii. 6—22; Ex. xii. 1—11; xx. 12—24; xxiv. 12—18; Lev. xix. 1—18; Num. xx. 2—13; 1 King's xvii. 17—24; xix. 2—8; Prov. xxxi. 10—31; Cant. ii. 1—14; Is. i. 16—19; ii. 1—5; vii. 10—15; xi. 1—5; xii. 1—6; xlix. 1—7; li. 1—8; liii. 1—12; lviii. 1—9; lx. 1—6; lxii. 6—12; Jerem. xvii. 13—18; xxiii. 6—8 (wrongly given xxxiii); Ezech. i. 10—13; xviii. 20—28; xxxvi. 23—28; Joel ii. 12—19; 23—27; iii. 17—21; Hos. xiv. 1—9 (wrongly given xiii); Amos ix. 13—15; Zech. ii. 10—13; viii. 3—8; Mal. iii. 1—4. From the Apocrypha, Esther xiii. 8—18; Wisd. v. 1—5; Ecclus. xv. 1—6; xxiv. 7—15; 17—22; xliv. 17—xlv. 4 (part); li. 9—12.

In his reference to these, Mr Anderson is singularly unhappy. He omits six of the Chapters from which the passages are taken (he does not give the verses), and of those which he gives, six are wrong, from a confusion of x and v. He suppresses all the passages from the Apocrypha and converts Esther xiii. (apocryphal) into Esther viii. (canonical). He argues from the publication of these

Anne Boleyn's copy.

One of the few copies of this edition which have been preserved is of touching interest. Among the men who had suffered for aiding in the circulation of the earlier editions of the Testament was a merchant-adventurer of Antwerp, Mr Harman, who seems to have applied to Queen Anne Boleyn for redress. The Queen listened to the plea which was urged in his favour, and by her intervention he was restored to the freedom and privileges of which he had been deprived. Tyndale could not fail to hear of her good offices, and he acknowledged them by a royal gift. He was at the time engaged in superintending the printing of his revised New Testament, and of this he caused one copy to be struck off on vellum and beautifully illuminated. No preface or dedication or name mars the simple integrity of this copy. Only on the gilded edges in faded red letters runs the simple title *Anna Regina Angliæ*[1].

passages, 'that there were other 'chapters in manuscript' (I. p. 570), wholly neglecting to notice that these lessons were a definite collection from the service book. It is not generally worth while to note mistakes, but this error deserves to be signalized, because it does not spring from inaccuracy, but apparently in some degree from want of candour.

[1] The copy was bequeathed to the British Museum by the Rev. C. M. Cracherode in 1799, but I have been unable to learn its previous history. As far as I have examined the book—and it is a delicate work to handle it—I have been unable to see the

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Tyndale's work crowned at London and at Vilvorde.

The interest of the Queen in the work of Tyndale appears to have extended yet further[1]: an edition of his revised New Testament, the first volume of Holy Scripture printed in England, appeared in the year in which she was put to death, and from the press of a printer with whom her party was connected[2]. Tyndale, who suffered in the same year, may have been martyred before the book was finished, but at least he must have been cheered with the knowledge of its progress. He had worked for thirteen years an exile by foreign instruments, and now in his last moments

'underscoring in red ink of passages such as might be marked 'for devotional purposes,' of which Mr Plumptre speaks (*Dict. of Bible*, III. 1669 n.). It may have been 'bound in blue morocco' when it was presented to Anne Boleyn, as Mr Anderson says (I. 413), though it is very unlikely: the present binding is obviously of the last century.

The shield on the title page is filled with the arms of France and England quarterly. The first quarter is defaced, and the outline of the wood engraving below is mixed with the charge. The capitals are exquisitely illuminated throughout.

[1] The 'lady Anne' had at an earlier time had a perilous adventure from lending to one of her ladies a copy of Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man*. The narrative is quoted in Tyndale's *Works*, I. p. 130.

[2] This was not T. Berthelet, as is commonly supposed, but J. Godfray. This fact has been ascertained beyond all doubt by Mr Bradshaw. The engraved border, on the evidence of which the work has been assigned to Berthelet, was used by Godfray before it passed into Berthelet's possession; and there is no evidence that Berthelet used it as early as 1536.

The edition ends with the significant words, 'God save the King, and all his well willers.'

he was allowed to rejoice in the thought that his labour had found its proper home in his own land. For this end he had constantly striven: for this he had been prepared to sacrifice every thing else; and the end was gained only when he was called to die.

His martyrdom.

It is impossible to follow in detail the circumstances of Tyndale's betrayal and martyrdom, yet the story is well worth pondering over. Some of the life-like touches in Foxe's narrative bring out the singleness of the character of the man whom he worthily called 'for his notable pains and 'travail an apostle of England.' One work had absorbed all his energy, and intent on that he had no eye for other objects. The traitor by whose devices he was taken (1535) seemed to him, in spite of warnings, 'honest, handsomely learned 'and *very conformable*.' He even furnished him with money, 'for in the wily subtilties of this 'world he was simple and inexpert.' But in defence of himself Tyndale needed no counsel; even by an adversary he was called 'a learned, pious and good 'man:' his keeper and his keeper's daughter and others of his keeper's household were won over by him to his belief. His last prayer when fastened to the stake (Oct. 1536) witnessed equally to his

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loyalty and his faith: '*Lord! open the King of* '*England's eyes.*'

His last New Testament.

While in prison Tyndale appears to have revised his New Testament once again for the press. This last edition contains one innovation in the addition of headings to the chapters in the Gospels and Acts, but not in the Epistles; and is without the marginal notes, which were added to the edition of 1534. But it is chiefly distinguished by the peculiarity of the orthography, which has received a romantic interpretation. Tyndale, as we have seen, had affirmed that 'he who followeth the 'plough' should in a few years have a full knowledge of the Scripture, and from the occurrence of such words as *maester*, *faether*, *moother*, *stoone*, in this edition it was concluded by a biographer that in his last years he adapted his translation to 'the 'pronunciation of the peasantry.' The conjecture seemed plausible and it is scarcely surprising that it has been transformed by repetition into an acknowledged fact. It is however not borne out by an examination of the book itself. Whatever may be the explanation of the orthography it is evident from its inconsistency that it was not the result of any fixed design. Nay more, there is not the least reason to suppose that some of the forms are pro-

vincial, or that the forms as a whole would make the language plainer to rustics. The headings too, which have been also supposed to have been designed 'to help to the understanding of the sub-'jects treated of,' just fail when on that theory they would be most needed[1].

The fulfilment of his work.

But though this pleasant fancy of the literal fulfilment of an early promise must be discarded, Tyndale achieved in every way a nobler fulfilment of it. Instead of lowering his translation to a

[1] Two copies of this edition are known. That which I have used is in the University Library at Cambridge. The orthography in the Table of the four Evangelists and the Prologue to the Romans which follows (not displaced by the binder) offers no marked peculiarities. In sheet A we find *aengell*, *waeye*, *faether*, *waere*, *saeyde*, *moether*, *aroese*, *behoelde*, *toeke*, *harde* (heard) &c. &c. In B, *maester*, *mother*, *moether*, *father*, *sayd* (consistently), *fayth*, *stoede*, &c. In C, *sayde*, *angels*, *moether*, *harde*, *maester*, *master*, *father*, &c. In D, *faether*, *moether*, *mother*, *sayde*, *hearde*, &c. In F on one side, *faether*, *moether*, *broether*, and on the other, *angels*, *sayde*, *daye*, *brother*, *told*, *hearde*, &c. In Y and Z we have almost consistently *faeyth*, *saeyde*, *hoepe*, *almoest*, *praeyer*, &c. Yet again in b *prayer*, &c. In the headings of the Epistles we have *saynct* and *saeynct*. Some spellings certainly belong to a foreign compositor, *thongs* (tongues, 1 Cor. xiii.); *thaugh* (taught). Some I cannot explain, *caled* (called), *holly* (holy), which forms are consistently used. Of possible explanations none seems more likely than that the copy was read to a Flemish compositor (at Brussels? or Malines?) and that the vowels simply give the Flemish equivalents of the English vowel sounds.

The text is carefully revised, as will be shewn afterwards, and the chapter headings are simply transferred from the table of the Gospels and Acts in the Testament of 1534.

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vulgar dialect, he lifted up the common language to the grand simplicity of his own idiom. 'It 'pleased God,' as he wrote in his first Prologue, 'to 'put [the translation] in his mind,' and if we look at his life and his work, we cannot believe that he was left without the Spirit of God in the execution of it. His single honesty is beyond all suspicion. 'I call God to record,' so he writes to Fryth in the Tower, 1532, 'against the day we shall appear 'before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our 'doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's 'word against my conscience, nor would this day, 'if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, 'honour or riches, might be given me[1].' Not one selfish thought mixed with his magnificent devotion. No treacherous intrigues ever shook his loyalty to his king: no intensity of distress ever obscured his faith in Christ. 'I assure you,' he said to a royal envoy[2], 'if it would stand with the

[1] Tyndale's *Works*, p. 456 (ed. 1573).

[2] Vaughan's dispatch (1531) quoted by Anderson, I. p. 278. Fryth's language (1533) is to the same effect: 'This hath been offered you, is offered, and shall be offered. Grant that the Word of God, I mean the text of Scripture, may go abroad in our English tongue, as other nations have it in their tongues, and my brother William Tyndale and I have done, and will promise you to write no more. If you will not grant this condition, then will we be doing while we have breath, and shew in few words that the Scripture doth in many; and so at the least save some.' Fryth's *Works*, p. 115 (ed. 1573).

'king's most gracious pleasure to grant only a bare 'text of the Scripture to be put forth among his 'people, like as it is put forth among the subjects 'of the emperor in these parts [the Netherlands], 'be it the translation of what person soever shall 'please his majesty, I shall immediately make 'faithful promise never to write more, nor abide 'two days in these parts after the same; but im- 'mediately repair into his realm, and there most 'humbly submit myself at the feet of his royal 'majesty, offering my body to suffer what pain or 'torture, yea what death his grace will, *so that this* '*be obtained*.' His life had seemed friendless, but his one dearest companion (Fryth) may interpret the temper common to them both. 'Doubt not' he writes from the Tower to his desolate congregation 'but that GOD...shall so provide for you that 'ye shall have an hundred fathers for one: an 'hundred mothers for one: an hundred houses for 'one: and that in this life, *as I have proved by* '*experience*[1].' We dilute the promise by our comments: these martyrs proved it in their lives.

Tyndale's last words on his translation.

The worth of Tyndale as a scholar must be estimated by his translation, which will be examined afterwards. Of the spirit in which he under-

[1] Anderson, I. 345.

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took the great work of his life something has been said already. To the end he retained unchanged, or only deepened and chastened, his noble forgetfulness of self in the prospect of its accomplishment, with a jealous regard for the sincere rendering of the Scriptures. Before he published the revised edition of 1534 he had been sorely tried by the interference of Joye, which might, as he thought, bring discredit to the Gospel itself. The passage, with which he closes his disclaimer of Joye's edition reflects at once his vigour and his tenderness. There is in it something of the freedom and power of Luther, but it is charged with a simple humility which Luther rarely if ever shews....'My part,' Tyndale writes, 'be not in Christ if mine heart be 'not to follow and live according as I teach, and 'also if mine heart weep not night and day for 'mine own sin and other men's indifferently, be-'seeching God to convert us all and to take his 'wrath from us and to be merciful as well to all 'other men, as to mine own soul, caring for the 'wealth of the realm I was born in, for the king 'and all that are thereof, as a tender-hearted mo-'ther would do for her only son.

'As concerning all I have translated or other-'wise written, I beseech all men to read it for that

'purpose I wrote it, even to bring them to the know-
'ledge of the Scripture. And as far as the Scrip-
'ture approveth it, so far to allow it, and if in any
'place the word of God disallow it, there to refuse
'it, as I do before our Saviour Christ and His con-
'gregation. And when they find fault let them shew
'it me, if they be nigh, or write to me if they be far
'off: or write openly against it and improve it, and
'I promise them, if I shall perceive that their reasons
'conclude I will confess mine ignorance openly.

'Wherefore I beseech George Joye, yea and
'all other too, for to translate the Scripture for
'themselves, whether out of Greek, Latin, or He-
'brew. Or, if they will needs,...let them take my
'translations and labours, and change, and alter,
'and correct and corrupt at their pleasures, and
'call it their own translations and put to their own
'names, and not to play bo-peep after George
'Joye's manner...But I neither can nor yet will
'suffer of any man that he shall go, take my trans-
'lation, and correct it without name, and make
'such changing as I myself durst not do, as I hope
'to have my part in Christ, though the whole world
'should be given me for my labour[1].'

1 'W. T. yet once again to the 'Christian Reader' in the N. T. of 1534. I cannot find this address in my copy of Tyndale's

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2. COVERDALE.

§ 2. COVERDALE.

Tyndale's character is heroic. He could see clearly the work to which he was called and pursue it with a single unswerving faith in GOD and in the powers which GOD had given him. It was otherwise with Miles Coverdale, who was allowed to finish what Tyndale left incomplete. The differences of the men are written no less on their features than on their lives. But our admiration for the solitary massive strength of the one must not make us insensible to the patient labours and tender sympathy of the other[1]. From the first Coverdale appears to have attached himself to the liberal members of the old party and to have looked to working out a reformation from within through them. As early as 1527 he was in intimate connexion with Crumwell and More[2]; and in all probability it was under their patronage that he was able to prepare for his translation of Holy Scripture. How long he thus laboured we cannot tell[3]. In 1529 he met

His early connexion with More and Crumwell.

Works published by the Parker Society. Part of it is given in the Life, pp. lxii. ff.

[1] The later Puritanism of Coverdale is consistent with this view of his character. He was a man born rather to receive than to create impressions.

[2] Anderson, I. p. 186.

[3] In an undated letter to Crumwell he says, evidently in reference to some specific 'communication' from him, 'Now I begin 'to taste of Holy Scriptures ...

Tyndale at Hamburgh[1], and must have continued abroad for a considerable part of the following years up to 1536. In the meantime a great change had passed over England since the 'Bill' of 1530[2]. At the close of 1534 a convocation under the presidency of Cranmer had agreed to petition the king that he would 'vouchsafe to decree that a transla-'tion of the Scriptures into English should be made 'by certain honest and learned men whom the king 'should nominate; and that the Scriptures so trans-'lated should be delivered to the people according 'to their learning[3].' Crumwell, who must have been well aware of the turn which opinion had taken, seems now to have urged Coverdale to com-

'Nothing in the world I desire 'but books as concerning my 'learning: they once had, I do 'not doubt, but Almighty God 'shall perform that in me which 'he of his plentiful favour and 'grace hath begun.' Anderson fixes this in 1531. The letter however from style seems to be nearly contemporary with another addressed to Crumwell in 1527.

[1] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. 120. I see nothing derogatory to Tyndale or improbable in Foxe's explicit statement that at this time Coverdale helped him in translating the Pentateuch; though on such a point Foxe's unsupported statement is not sufficient evidence.

[2] See p. 54.

[3] Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 34. It is uncertain whether it was after this resolution (as seems most likely), or not till after the corresponding resolutions of 1536, that Cranmer endeavoured to engage the bishops in a translation or revision of the English Bible [New Testament], of which attempt Strype has preserved an amusing anecdote: *Cranmer*, p. 48.

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His Bible sent to the press.

mit his work to the press. At any rate by 1534 he was ready, 'as he was desired,' 'to *set forth*' (i. e. to print) his translation[1], and the work was finished in October, 1535.

But up to the present time the place where it was printed is wholly undetermined, though most bibliographers agree that it was printed abroad. Various conjectures have been made, but when examined minutely they are found to be unsupported by any substantial evidence. The wood-cuts and type are certainly not those used by Egenolph of Frankfort, to which however they bear a very close resemblance[2]. On the other hand, no book printed by Froschover of Zurich has yet been found with more than the two larger kinds of type used in Coverdale's Bible[3]. The question is further complicated by the fact that the title-page and preliminary matter were reprinted in a different (English) type[4], and the five remaining title-pages re-

Three title-pages.

[1] The date is added in the edition of 1550. The words do not imply that he commenced it then.

[2] Mr Fry on *Coverdale's Bible of* 1535, p. 32. On this point I have satisfied myself completely.

[3] Mr Fry, *l.c.* p. 28. It is right to add that I am convinced, on internal grounds, that Froschover was the printer, though at present no satisfactory direct evidence of the fact can be adduced. Froschover, it may be added, printed the edition of 1550.

[4] Probably, as Mr Fry shows, by Nycolson: *l.c.* p. 20.

In the same way the title-page and preliminary matter of the edition of 1550 printed abroad

present three distinct issues, two in 1535, and one in 1536. Two copies have a title-page corresponding to the body of the book, dated 15$\frac{3}{5}$, and one of them preserves a single page of the original preliminary matter. Another copy has a title-page in English type, corresponding to the English preliminary matter, dated also 1535. The two other title-pages are printed in English type, but with the date 1536[1]. Thus there can be no reason to doubt that the book was issued both with the foreign and English title-pages, &c.[2], though it may still be doubted whether the English title-page, &c. belongs to 1536 or to 1535[3].

The differences of the title-pages.

One important difference between the foreign and English title-pages must be noticed. In the former it is said that the book is 'faithfully and

were cancelled, and a new title-page &c. printed in England substituted in their place.

[1] See App. II.

[2] The fragment of the foreign printed Prologue offers only one important variation from the corresponding part of the English Prologue: Mr Fry, *l.c.* p. 18.

It is of course impossible to determine the cause of the suppression of the foreign title-page and Prologue. Coverdale may have explained too much in detail 'the Douche and Latin' sources from which he borrowed to suit the wishes of his patrons or publishers. The change in the title-page suggests the conjecture, which is however otherwise unsupported.

[3] If it could be ascertained whether the title-page of Lord Northampton's copy is a single page added to the Prologue, or printed on the same sheet with a part of it, something might be done towards settling the question.

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'truly translated out of Dutch [German] and Latin 'into English:' in the latter the sources of the version are left unnoticed, and it is said simply to be 'faithfully translated into English.' It is possible that the explanatory words taken in connexion with some further details in the original prologue may have been displeasing to the promoters of the edition, and that a new and less explicit title-page, &c. was substituted for the first. However this may have been, the statement itself, as will be seen afterwards, was literally true, and Coverdale describes clearly enough in the existing prologue the secondary character of his work[1].

Coverdale's account of his work.

Coverdale indeed disclaims the originality which friends and detractors have alike assigned to him. And it is in this that the true beauty and truth of his nature are seen. He distinctly acknowledges that he could but occupy for a time the place of another; nay he even looks to this as the best fruit of his labours that he should call out a

[1] The supposition that the publication of the work was delayed by the fall of Q. Anne Boleyn is quite baseless. The substitution of the name of Q. Jane without any other alteration in the edition of 1537 is like that of the name of Edward VI. for Henry VIII. in the edition of 1550. The appropriateness of epithets was not much considered by early editors. Mr Fry has shewn, *l.c.* pp. 10 ff. that all the dedications found in copies of the first edition with Q. Jane's name belong to the edition of 1537.

worthier successor to displace himself. 'Though 'Scripture,' he writes, 'be not worthily ministered 'to thee [good reader] in this translation by reason 'of my rudeness; yet if thou be fervent in thy 'prayer, GOD shall not only send it thee in a 'better shape *by the ministration of other that 'began it afore* (Tyndale), but shall also move 'the hearts of them which as yet meddled not 'withal to take it in hand and to bestow the gift 'of their understanding thereon[1].'...

His motives.

Yet in the meantime he saw that there was something for him to do. It was a noble end if he could secure that Holy Scripture should be 'set forth' (as he was able to obtain) 'with the 'Kynge's most gracious license.' And so plainly disclosing his motives he says...'when I consider- 'ed how great a pity it was that we should want 'it so long and called to my remembrance the 'adversity of them which were not only of ripe 'knowledge, but would also with all their hearts 'have performed that they begun if they had not 'had impediment.....these and other reasonable 'causes considered I was more bold to take it in 'hand. And to help me herein I have had sundry 'translations not only in Latin but also of the

[1] Coverdale's *Remains*, p. 30 (ed. Park. Soc.)

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'Dutch (German) interpreters, whom because of 'their singular gifts and special diligence in the 'Bible I have been the more glad to follow for 'the most part, according as I was required. But 'to say the truth before GOD it was neither my 'labour nor desire to have this work put in my 'hand; nevertheless it grieved me that other 'nations should be more plenteously provided for 'with the Scripture in their mother tongue than 'we: therefore when I was instantly required, 'though I could not do so well as I would, I 'thought it yet my duty to do my best and that 'with a good will[1].'

The good of many versions.

Some good indeed he did hope might permanently remain from his work. As the faithful and honest interpretation of one man it might serve as a kind of comment to another version.

...'Divers translations,' he writes, 'understand 'one another and that in the head articles and 'ground of our most blessed faith though they use 'sundry words. Therefore methink we have great 'occasion to give thanks unto GOD, that He hath 'opened unto His Church the gift of interpretation 'and of printing, and that there are now at this 'time so many which with such diligence and

[1] *Remains*, p. 12 (Prologue).

'faithfulness interpret the Scripture to the honour 'of God and edifying of His people[1].....For the 'which cause according as I was desired[2] I took 'the more upon me to set forth this special trans- 'lation, not as a checker, not as a reprover or 'despiser of other men's translations (for among 'many as yet I have found none without occasion 'of great thanksgiving unto GOD) but lowly and 'faithfully have I followed mine interpreters, and 'that under correction, and though I have failed 'anywhere (as there is no man but he misseth in 'some things) love shall construe all to the best 'without any perverse judgment...If thou [reader] 'hast knowledge therefore to judge where any fault 'is made, I doubt not but thou wilt help to amend 'it, if love be joined with thy knowledge. Howbeit 'whereinsoever I can perceive by myself or by the 'information of other that I have failed (as it is no 'wonder) I shall now by the help of GOD overlook 'it better and amend it[3].'

The translation dedicated to Henry VIII.

The translation of Tyndale went forth to the world without any dedication or author's name. All that was personal was sunk in the grandeur of the message opened to Englishmen. But it could not

[1] *Remains*, p. 13.

[2] In the edition of 1550 is added 'in 1534.'

[3] *Remains*, p. 14.

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be so with Coverdale's. His object was to bring about the *open* circulation of the Scriptures, and that could only be by securing the king's favour. To this end the work was dedicated to Henry VIII. in language which to us now is in many parts strangely painful, though it was not out of harmony with the taste and peculiar circumstances of the time[1].

...'I thought it my duty,' he says, 'and to 'belong to my allegiance when I had translated 'this Bible, not only to dedicate this translation 'unto your highness, but wholly to commit it unto 'the same; to the intent that if any thing therein 'be translated amiss (for in many things we fail 'even when we think to be sure) it may stand in 'your grace's hands to correct it, to amend it, to 'improve it, yea and clean to reject it, if your 'godly wisdom shall think it necessary.' But even so the spirit of the humble and true scholar asserts itself. For he continues, 'And as I do with 'all humbleness submit mine understanding and 'my poor translation unto the spirit of truth in 'your grace, so I make this protestation, having

[1] The Dedication of the Authorised Version is even more painful and less capable of excuse. It seems strange that this should hold its place in our Bibles while the noble Preface is universally omitted.

'GOD to record in my conscience that I have 'neither wrested nor altered so much as one word 'for the maintenance of any manner of sect, but 'have with a clear conscience purely and faithfully 'translated this out of five sundry interpreters, 'having only the manifest truth of the Scripture 'before mine eyes[1].'...

A Latin-English Testament.

Still acting on the broad principle of 'becoming all things to all men,' Coverdale afterwards (1538) revised his New Testament according to the Latin and published it with the Vulgate in parallel columns[2]. His great object was to in-

[1] *Remains*, p. 11.

[2] Of this *Latin-English Testament* there are three editions. The first was printed by Nycolson 1538 and dedicated to Henry VIII. This was executed while Coverdale was in Paris and disowned by him on the ground that 'as it was disagreeable to my 'former translation in English, 'so was not the true copy of the 'Latin text observed' (*Remains*, p. 33). Accordingly he revised it 'weeding out the faults that 'were in the Latin and English 'before' (*id.*), and printed a new edition in Paris in the same year which was published by Grafton and Whitchurch, and dedicated to Lord Crumwell. Nycolson however put forth another impression of his edition under the name of John Hollybushe (1538).

It is probable that Coverdale simply left instructions with the printer as to how the work should be done, not foreseeing the difficulties which would arise, and that the printer engaged Hollybushe to superintend the work which Coverdale when he saw it disavowed. Coverdale's own Testament is an adaptation of his version to the Latin. Hollybushe's is a new version from the Latin on the basis of Coverdale's. Specimens are given in App. VI.

The titles of the two principal editions are the following:

The newe testament both Latine and Englyshe ech correspondent to the other after the

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terpret the Latin itself to some who used it ignorantly, and also to shew openly the substantial identity of Scripture in different languages. Many disparaged this translation or that....'as though,' he says, 'the Holy Ghost were not the Author of 'His Scripture as well in the Hebrew, Greek, 'French, Dutch and in English as in Latin. The 'Scripture and word of God is truly to every 'Christian man of like worthiness and authority 'in what language soever the Holy Ghost speak-'eth it. And therefore am I and will be while 'I live under your most gracious favour and cor-'rection,'—he is still addressing Henry VIII.—'alway willing and ready to do my best as well 'in one translation as in another[1].' And thus in the particular case of translations from different texts he reaffirms his general principle of the utility of various translations, applied before to various renderings of the same text...'for thy part, 'gentle reader, take in good worth that I here

vulgare text, commonly called S. Ieroms. Faythfully translated by Myles Couerdale Anno MCCCCCXXXVIII..... Printed in Southwarke by James Nicolson. Set forth wyth the Kynges moost gracious licence.

The new testament both in Latin and English after the vulgare texte: which is red in the churche. Translated and corrected by Myles Couerdale: and prynted in Paris by Fraunces Regnault. MCCCCCXXXVIII in Nouembre...Cum gratia et privilegio regis.

[1] *Remains*, p. 27.

'offer thee with a good will and let this present 'translation be no prejudice to the other, that out 'of the Greek have been translated before or shall 'be hereafter. For if thou open thine eyes and 'consider well the gift of the Holy Ghost therein, 'thou shalt see that one translation declareth, 'openeth and illustrateth another, and that in 'many places one is a plain commentary unto 'another[1].'

Coverdale's Bible not distinctly sanctioned by the King in 1535.

It is very difficult to ascertain the exact relation in which the first edition of Coverdale's Bible stood to the civil authority. There can be no doubt that it was undertaken by the desire of Crumwell, and its appearance may have been hastened by the change of feeling which found expression in the resolutions of Convocation in 1534, though it could not have owed its origin to them. But when it was finished in October 1535 Crumwell appears to have been unable to obtain a definite license from the king, or it may be that he thought it more prudent to await the publication of the book. So much is certain that the first edition went forth without any distinct royal sanction. The book was not suppressed, and

[1] *Id.* p. 36.

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this was all[1]. But Convocation was not satisfied; and in 1536 they again petitioned that a new translation might be undertaken. Nothing however was done; but the relation in which the king stood to the Papal See had already given greater importance to the public recognition of the supremacy of Scripture.

A Council held by Cromwell.

So it happened that when a council was held in the next year under the presidency of Cromwell, as vicar general, to determine certain articles of faith, the varieties of opinion about Scripture found vigorous expression. Alexander Ales has left a vivid account of the meeting which has been transcribed by Foxe. 'At the king's pleasure all 'the learned men but especially the bishops assem- 'bled, to whom this matter seemed to belong..... 'The bishops and prelates attending upon the 'coming of Cromwell, as he was come in, rose up 'and did obeisance unto him as to their vicar- 'general, and he again saluted every one in their 'degree, and sat down in the highest place at the 'table, according to his degree and office.....' Thereupon Cromwell opened the discussion by

[1] On the whole it seems best to refer Coverdale's account of the reference of 'his Bible' by the King to the Bishops 'to the Great Bible. See p. 97.

sketching in a short speech the king's purpose and commands. ['He will not] admit' he said 'any 'articles or doctrine not contained in Scripture, but 'approved only by continuance of time and old 'custom, and by unwritten verities as ye were 'wont to do.....His majesty will give you high 'thanks if ye will act and conclude a godly and 'perfect unity, whereunto this is the only way and 'mean, if ye will determine all things by the 'Scripture, as God commandeth you in Deutero-'nomy; which thing his majesty exhorteth and 'desireth you to do.' On this 'the bishops rose 'up altogether giving thanks unto the king's 'majesty.....for his most godly exhortation.....' There was less unanimity afterwards. The discussion turned upon the Sacraments. Cranmer wisely urged moderation and accuracy of definition. Ales, at the invitation of Crumwell, proceeded to investigate the meaning of the word. Stokesley, bishop of London, interrupted him as he was examining the opinions of the fathers, and was in turn checked by Fox of Hereford, who reminded both that 'they were commanded by 'the king that these controversies should be de-'termined only by the rule and judgment of the 'Scripture.' Then specially addressing the bishops

he continued.....'The lay people do now know 'the holy Scripture better than many of us; and 'the Germans have made the text of the Bible 'so plain and easy by the Hebrew and Greek 'tongues that now many things may be better 'understood without any glosses at all than by all 'the commentaries of the doctors. And moreover 'they have so opened these controversies by their 'writings, that women and children may wonder 'at the blindness and falshood that have been 'hitherto.....Truth is the daughter of time, and 'time is the mother of truth; and whatsoever is 'besieged of truth cannot long continue; and 'upon whose side truth doth stand, that ought not 'to be thought transitory or that it will ever fall...' But Stokesley hard pressed in the argument, replied to Ales with inconsiderate warmth.....'Ye 'are far deceived if ye think that there is none 'other word of God but that which every souter 'and cobbler doth read in his mother tongue. 'And if ye think that nothing pertaineth unto the 'Christian faith, but that only which is written in 'the Bible, then are ye plainly with the Lutherans '..... Now when the right noble lord Crumwell, 'the archbishop with the other bishops who did 'defend the pure doctrine of the Gospel, heard this,

'they smiled a little one upon another, forasmuch 'as they saw him flee even in the very beginning 'of the disputation unto his old rusty sophistries 'and unwritten verities.....' 'Thus through the in- 'dustry of Crumwell the colloquies were brought 'to this end, that albeit religion could not wholly 'be reformed, yet at that time there was some 'reformation had through England[1]'.

The second edition of Coverdale's Bible authorised 1537.

In the meantime the first edition of Coverdale's Bible was exhausted. The fall and death of Queen Anne, which had seemed likely to be fatal to the cause of the reformers had not stayed the desire for the vernacular Scriptures which sprang from popular and not from political impulses. The feeling of the clergy and the bishops was indeed divided on the question, but even among them the king could find sufficient support to justify a decided step in directly authorising the publication of the English Bible[2]. Two editions of Cover-

[1] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. 378 ff.

[2] According to Foxe Crumwell, as Vicegerent, issued in 1536 an injunction that by Aug. 1 every church should be provided 'with a book of the whole Bible 'in Latin and also in English... 'for every man that will to look 'and read therein...' (Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. 167.) It is however certain that this injunction was not *published*. The original draught may have contained the provision, which is the more likely as it is not similar in form to the corresponding injunction of 1538.

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dale's translation 'overseen and corrected' were published by Nycolson in Southwark in 1537, and for the first time 'set forth with the king's most gracious license.' The name of Queen Jane was substituted for that of Queen Anne in the dedication without further change, and at length the English Bible was not only tacitly overlooked but distinctly allowed to circulate freely. Coverdale, through Crumwell's influence, had established a precedent, and successors were found at once to avail themselves of it.

Prayer before reading the Scriptures.

The revised edition of Coverdale differs slightly in text and arrangement from that of 1535. One significant addition is worthy of notice, 'A prayer 'to be used before reading the Bible: Because 'that when thou goest to study in Holy Scripture 'thou shouldest do it with reverence, therefore 'for thine instruction and loving admonition 'thereto, the reverend father in God Nicholas, 'Bishop of Salisbury, hath prescribed this prayer 'following, taken out of the same.

"O Lord God Almighty which long ago saidst "by the mouth of James thine Apostle: If any of "you lack wisdom, let him ask it of God.....Hear "my petition for this thy promise sake.....Have "mercy upon me and graciously hear me for

"Jesus Christs sake our Lord, which liveth and "reigneth with Thee, His Father and the Holy "Ghost, world without end. Amen."

'After the end of any Chapter (if thou wilt) 'thou mayest say these verses following.

"Lead me O Lord in thy way, and let me "walk in Thy truth. Oh let mine heart delight "in fearing thy name.

"Order my goings after Thy Word that no "wickedness reign in me.

"Keep my steps within thy paths, lest my feet "turn into any contrary way."'

§ 3. Matthew (Rogers).

Coverdale, we have seen, looked earnestly for the displacing of his own work by another. His prayers and the prayers of his readers were answered sooner than he could have hoped. Tyndale, at the time of his martyrdom, had published of the Old Testament the Pentateuch and book of Jonah, with a few detached pieces, being 'Epistles 'from the Old Testament according to the use of 'Salisbury,' including Lessons from Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom[1]. But he had left in manuscript,

[1] This alone is sufficient to refute Anderson's supposition that Tyndale, if he had lived, would not have been guilty of printing the Apocryphal with the Canonical Books.

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according to universal belief, a version of the books from Joshua to 2 Chronicles inclusive, which came into the hands of his friend John Rogers. This work was not to be lost; so Rogers, by the help, as it seems, of T. Matthew[1], under whose name the book was published, put together a composite Bible made up of Tyndale's translation from Genesis to 2 Chronicles, and his revised New Testament of 1535[2], with the remainder of the Old Testament including Jonah[3], and the Apocrypha from Cover-

The composition of Matthew's Bible.

[1] Thomas Matthew has been commonly assumed, on the authority of Foxe, to be simply a pseudonym for John Rogers. Nothing can be more unlikely. The name stands at full at the end of the dedication, and the initials J. R. at the end of the Exhortation to the study of Scripture. Matthew probably furnished the money for the work, as Marler afterwards for the second Great Bible.

[2] This will be shewn afterwards, c. II. § 3.

[3] A copy of Tyndale's translation of Jonah was found in 1861 by Lord A. Hervey, bound up in a volume of tracts. It has been published with the Prologue and Coverdale's version by Mr Fry in fac simile (1863). As some writers still venture to say that Matthew gives Tyndale's and not Coverdale's version, it may be worth while to indicate the various readings of one chapter (chap. ii.).

Tyndale.	Coverdale (Matthew).
1 *bowels*	1 *belly*
2 and + *he* said	2 om. *he*
tribulation	*trouble*
answered	*heard*
3 + *for* thou hadst	3 om. *for.*
and all thy w.	*yea* all thy w.
+ *and* 7th	om. *and*

dale. The expense of the work was defrayed by two citizens of London, R. Grafton and E. Whitchurch, and it was printed abroad[1]. It was ready for publication in 1537, and furnished with a dedication to Henry and Queen Jane, drawn up in terms exactly similar in tenor to those which have been already quoted; 'for unto whom,' Matthew asks, 'or unto whose protection should the defence 'of such a work be sooner committed (wherein are 'contained the infallible promises of mercy...with 'the whole sum of Christianity) than unto his Ma-'jesty, which not only by name and title but most 'evidently and openly, most christianly and with 'most godly policy doth profess the defence there-'of.' And as men's thoughts were now anxiously

TYNDALE.	COVERDALE (MATTHEW).
5 water	5 waters
*un*to	to
6 + *and* I went	6 om. *and*
+ *on every side* for e.	om. *on every side*
and yet thou	*but* thou
Lord	+ *O* Lord
broughtest	hast brought
8 *observe*	8 *hold of*
have forsaken	*will forsake*
him that was merciful unto them	*his mercy*
9 sacrifice + *unto thee*	9 + *do the* sacrifice
that saving c.	*For why? Salvation* c.

It is certain however that Coverdale's version was not independent of Tyndale's, as indeed this collation itself would shew.

[1] The place of printing has not yet been determined.

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turned to the future—it was shortly before the birth of Edward VI.—he concludes 'the everliving 'Lord...bless you at this present with a son by 'your most gracious wife Queen Jane, which may 'prosperously and fortunately reign and follow 'the godly steps of his father...'

Cranmer's joy at receiving it.

Whether Cranmer was privy to the preparation of this edition or not is uncertain[1], but it is evident that the authors of it had good reason to be assured that he would welcome its appearance. The first tidings of its arrival in England is contained in a

Aug. 4, 1537.

letter which he addressed to Crumwell[2]. 'My 'especial good lord...', he writes, 'these shall be to 'signify unto the same that you shall receive by 'the bringer thereof a bible in English, both of a 'new translation and of a new print, dedicated 'unto the king's majesty, as further appeareth by a 'pistle unto his grace in the beginning of the book, 'which in mine opinion is very well done, and 'therefore I pray your lordship to read the same.

[1] An impression is an intangible argument, but to me Cranmer's letter appears to be that of a man who was not taken by surprise by the New Bible. It is further to be remarked that Grafton (who joined in the publication) was acquainted with the contents of Cranmer's letter to Crumwell of Aug. 13th, and wrote to Crumwell with a present of six Bibles on the same day that Cranmer wrote the second letter of thanks. Cranmer's *Works*, p. 346 n. (Ed. Park. Soc.).

[2] Letter 194 (ed. Park. Soc.).

'And as for the translation, so far as I have read 'thereof, I like it better than any other translation 'heretofore made; yet not doubting but that there 'may and will be found some fault therein, as you 'know no man ever did or can do so well, but it 'may be from time to time amended. And foras- 'much as the book is dedicated unto the king's 'grace, and also great pains and labour taken in 'setting forth of the same; I pray you, my Lord, 'that you will exhibit the book unto the king's 'highness, and to obtain of his grace, if you can, a 'license that the same may be sold and read of 'every person, without danger of any act, procla- 'mation, or ordinance, heretofore granted to the 'contrary, until such time that we bishops shall 'set forth a better translation, which I think will 'not be till a day after doomsday[1]. And if you 'continue to take such pains for the setting forth 'of God's word as you do, although in the mean 'season you suffer some snubs and many slanders, 'lies, and reproaches for the same, yet one day 'He will requite altogether...' He was not long in waiting for the news of Crumwell's success. In *Aug.* 13. little more than a week he thanks him for that he 'hath not only exhibited the bible...to the king's

[1] See p. 71, n. 3.

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'majesty, but also hath obtained of his grace that 'the same shall be allowed by his authority to be 'bought and read within this realm...[1];' and he continues, 'you have shewed me more pleasure 'herein than if you had given me a thousand 'pound...[2].' Nor was he satisfied with this first acknowledgment. A fortnight afterwards he writes again: 'These shall be to give you most hearty 'thanks that any heart can think, and that in the 'name of them all which favour God's word, for 'your diligence at this time in procuring the king's 'highness to set forth the said God's word and His 'gospel by his grace's authority. For the which 'act not only the king's majesty but also you shall 'have a perpetual laud and memory of all them 'that be now, or hereafter shall be, God's faithful 'people and the favourers of His Word[3].'

Allowed by the king to be sold publicly.

Aug. 28.

The work which Crumwell had achieved was certainly one which required great address. The Preface to the Bible, to which Cranmer specially called his attention, may have smoothed his way; but the king could not have been ignorant that the translation was in part the very work of Tyndale, which he had by the advice of his council con-

Difficulties overcome in obtaining the king's license for it.

[1] It may have been at this time that Crumwell obtained the licence for Coverdale's Bible also: p. 86.

[2] Letter 197.

[3] Letter 198.

demned more than once. The Prologue to the Romans had been condemned separately and was not to be easily overlooked, and the most superficial inspection would have shewn the boldness of the notes with which the text was copiously furnished[1]. It is impossible to tell what considerations availed with Henry. He may have been glad to act independently of the bishops. But however this may have been, by Cranmer's petition, by Crum-

[1] The notes in Matthew are distributed not quite equally throughout the Old and New Testament. The commentary on the Psalms is the most elaborate. On the Apocryphal books I have noticed only a few various readings (2 Esdr. iv.: Tob. xii.: Ecclus. xxiii.: 2 Macc. ii.), and two notes: one on 2 Macc. iv. 'Olympiades: These were kepte 'euery fiftye yeare (sic)' where 'fiftye' is a misprint for Coverdale's 'fifth'; and the other of considerable interest on 2 Macc. xii. 'Judge upon this place whe-'ther the opinion hath been to 'pray for the dead, as to be bap-'tised for them 1 Cor. xv., which 'thing was only done to confirm 'the hope of the resurrection of 'the dead, not to deliver them 'from any pain. S. Paul did not 'allow the ceremony of Christen-'ing for the dead, no more doth 'any place of the canonical 'scripture allow the ceremony of 'offering for the dead. Further-'more: This whole book of the 'Maccabees, and specially this se-'cond, is not of sufficient author-'ity to make an article of our 'faith, as it is before sufficiently 'proved by the authority of S. 'Jerome in the prologue of the 'books called Apocrypha.'

One or two other notes may be quoted: John vi. 33. 'The 'word of the Gospel which is 'Christ, is the true and lively 'bread of heaven that giveth life 'to the whole word.' John v. 2. '*slaughter house*. The Greek hath '*sheep house*, a place where they 'killed the beasts that were of-'fered.' James ii. 24. '*Justified*. 'that is, is declared just, is openly 'known to be righteous, like as 'by the fruits the good tree is 'known for good. Otherwise 'may not this sentence be inter-'preted.....'

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well's influence, and by Henry's authority, without any formal ecclesiastical decision, the book was given to the English people, which is the foundation of the text of our present Bible. From Matthew's Bible—itself a combination of the labours of Tyndale and Coverdale—all later revisions have been successively formed. In that the general character and mould of our whole version was definitely fixed. The labours of the next seventy-five years were devoted to improving it in detail.

Scheme for reprinting it.

Matthew's Bible must have been eagerly welcomed. In the same year in which it was imported a scheme was made for reprinting it in England in a smaller form by 'Douche men dwelling within 'this realm,' 'for covetousness[1].' Grafton, who had ventured a large sum upon the original edition, which consisted of fifteen hundred copies, begged Cromwell for protection, and suggested that he might command in the king's name 'that every 'curate have one of them....yea and that every 'Abbey should have six....yea,' he adds, 'I would 'none other but they of the Papistical sort should 'be compelled to have them.' It does not appear

[1] Grafton's *Letter to Cromwell*, Strype, *Cranmer*, Ap. xx. Grafton speaks in undue disparagement of 'the former [Coverdale's] Bibles, which have neither good paper, letter, ink, 'nor correction.'

what answer Crumwell gave. His action at least was effectual. The reprint was never carried out[1]. Grafton and Whitchurch were reimbursed for their expenditure; and in the next year they were ready to embark in a new enterprise, which was designed to supplant their first, and undertaken under the direct patronage of Crumwell.

§ 4. The Great Bible (Crumwell, Cranmer, Tunstall and Heath).

Crumwell provides for the preparation of the Great Bible.

It is indeed evident that Crumwell's zeal for the circulation of the vernacular Scriptures could not be satisfied with the license which he had obtained for the Bibles of Coverdale and Matthew. The first was imperfect in its conception: the second was burdened with notes and additions which could not fail sooner or later to call out bitter antagonism. Under these circumstances he appears to have applied to Coverdale, who was in England in the early part of 1538, to undertake the charge of a new edition on the basis of Matthew's but with a more complete critical collation of the Hebrew and Latin texts than had been

[1] Taverner's Bible does not answer fully to the description; otherwise it might be supposed that this 'smaller' edition was meant.

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hitherto attempted. Grafton and Whitchurch had earned by their former work the privilege of undertaking the conduct of this, but the resources of the English press were not adequate to carry it out as Crumwell wished. And so about Lent Coverdale proceeded with Grafton to Paris to superintend the printing there. A license was obtained from Francis for the execution of the work[1], which was commenced on a splendid scale by Regnault. Coverdale pressed forward the enterprise with all haste, for even from the first they were 'daily threatened and looked ever to be 'spoken withal.' By September he could inform Crumwell that 'Your Lordships work of the Bible '...goeth well forward, and within four months 'will draw to an end by the grace of Almighty 'God.' Three months later when the text was almost finished the danger of interruption to the printing became imminent. Coverdale conveyed as much of the Bible as was ready to Crumwell by the help of Bishop Bonner, ambassador at Paris,

Jun. 23.

Sept. 12.

Dec. 13.

[1] The license granted by Francis is given by Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 756, App. xxx. After the permission to print and export is added the provision: 'Dummodo quod sic imprimetis et excudetis sincere et pie, quantum 'in vobis erit, citra ullas privatas 'aut illegitimas opiniones impressum et excussum [excusum] fuerit....' This clause was of course sufficiently wide to admit of the interference of the inquisition.

that if 'the rest were confiscated yet this at least 'might be safe.' In four days more the expected inhibition came. An order from the inquisitor general for France forbade the further progress of the work and the removal of the printed sheets. Coverdale and Grafton made their escape, but not long after returned to Paris and conveyed presses, types and workmen to London, and even rescued a large quantity of the condemned sheets—'four 'great-dry vats' full—which had been sold to a tradesmen as waste paper, instead of being burnt. Thus that which had seemed to be for the hindrance of Crumwell's design really forwarded it permanently in a wonderful manner by introducing into England the materials and men best suited to carry it out. The Bible, henceforth known as the *Great Bible*, was finished in April, but without the critical and explanatory commentary which Coverdale had designed[1]. While the revision was

[1] A copy of this edition on vellum designed for Crumwell and described by Coverdale himself, is now in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge.

It is worthy of remark that this Bible has no dedication. The title-page—said to have been designed by Holbein—represents (at the top) the king giving the Bible (Verbum Dei) to Crumwell and Cranmer: they in turn (on the sides) distribute it among ecclesiastics and laymen: at the bottom a crowd is listening to a preacher. Labels with various texts &c. issue from the mouths of the chief figures. The composition includes many other details and will repay a careful ex-

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going forward he had 'set in a private table the 'diversity of readings of all texts [Hebrew, Chal- 'dee, Greek, Latin] with such annotations in an- 'other table, as shall doubless elucidate and clear 'the same, as well without any singularity of 'opinions as all checkings and reproofs.' And when it was drawing to a close, he writes regretfully: 'Pity it were that the dark places of the 'text, upon which I have always set a hand (☞) 'should so pass undeclared. As for any private 'opinion or contentious words, as I will utterly 'avoid all such, so will I offer the annotations first 'to my said Lord of Hereford [Bonner], to the in- 'tent that he shall so examine the same, afore they 'be put in print, if it be your Lordship's good plea- 'sure that I shall do so.' But Coverdale's regret

amination. It is well described in the *Historical Account*, p. 92.

The reference of 'Coverdale's Bible' to the Bishops by the king, and their confession that there were no heresies to be maintained thereby, appears to refer to this edition (Fryth, p. 78). See p. 82.

In a preliminary explanation of signs some account is given of the delay in the publication of the notes: 'We have also (as ye 'may see) added many hands 'both in the margin of this vo- 'lume and also in the text, upon 'the which we purposed to have 'made in the end of the Bible '(in a table by themselves) cer- 'tain godly annotations: but 'forasmuch as yet there hath 'not been sufficient time minis- 'tered to the king's most ho- 'nourable Council for the over- 'sight and correction of the said 'annotations, we will therefore 'omit them till their more con- 'venient leisure, doing now no 'more but beseech thee, most 'gentle reader, that when thou

was ineffectual. The various marks which he designed remained in the text of several editions of the Great Bible, but nothing more than a general explanation of their import was ever given. The volume of 'annotations' was deferred till a more convenient occasion, which never came. But in the mean time a complete English text of the Scriptures was provided for public use, which by an injunction framed beforehand Crumwell, as *Sept.* 1538. the king's vice-gerent, required should be set up in some convenient place in every church throughout the kingdom before a specified day[1]. 'A do-

'comest at such a place where a 'hand doth stand...and thou 'canst not attain to the meaning 'and true knowledge of that sen- 'tence, then do not rashly pre- 'sume to make any private in- 'terpretation thereof, but submit 'thyself to the judgment of those 'that are godly learned in Christ 'Jesus.'

[1] There cannot be the least doubt that the 'Bible of the 'largest volume in English' was the edition being prepared in Paris. No one who has seen Coverdale's, Matthew's and Crumwell's Bibles together would hesitate as to the application of the description: the Bible and the injunction corresponded and were both due to the same man. I cannot agree with Mr Anderson in supposing Matthew's Bible to have been intended: II. 34, in spite of Strype, *Cranmer*, I. 117. The date by which the Bible was to be procured was left blank. At the time when the injunctions were drawn up, the interruption of the printing could not have been definitely foreseen. Similar proclamations were issued by the king in May 1540 immediately after the publication of the second (Cranmer's) Great Bible; and again in May 1541, after the publication of the third, which bore the names of Tunstall and Heath. Anderson, II. pp. 131, 142.

It may be added that Cranmer in his injunctions for the

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'mino factum est istud' is the worthy motto with which it concludes[1].

The Great Bible *Crumwell's work.*

There is no evidence to shew that Cranmer had any share in the preparation of the Great Bible, or even that he was acquainted with the undertaking. The selection of Coverdale for the execution of the work, and Coverdale's correspondence, distinctly mark it as Crumwell's sole enterprise. But Cranmer was not slow in furthering it. By the autumn of the same year arrangements were completed for the printing of a new edition in London with the help of the materials obtained from Paris; and the archbishop had

Cranmer prepares a Preface for the second edition.

clergy of the diocese of Hereford (between May and November 1538) requires that every one 'shall have by the first day 'of August next coming (1539?), 'as well a whole Bible in Latin 'and English, or at least a New 'Testament of both the same 'languages, as the copies of the 'king's highness' injunctions.' These injunctions were probably issued after September, and the date fixed in 1539. Cranmer, *Works*, II. p. 81.

[1] One passage which occurs at the end of the Introduction is worthy of being quoted, and it seems characteristic of Coverdale:

'With what judgment the 'books of the Old Testament 'are to be read.

...'The books of the Old Test-'ament are much to be regarded 'because they be as it were a 'manner of foundation where-'unto the New Testament doth 'cleave and lean, out of the 'which certain arguments of the 'New Testament may be taken. 'For there is nothing shewed in 'the New Testament, the which 'was not shadowed before in the 'figures of Moses' Law, and fore-'spoken in the revelations of the 'Prophets, some things even evi-'dently expressed...'

drawn up a preface for it which he had transmitted to Crumwell for the approbation of the king. By a strange coincidence Crumwell received from Henry on the very day on which Cranmer wrote to him to make a final decision about the price, &c., the absolute right of licensing the publication of Bibles in England for five years. Thus all difficulties were removed from the way, and the Bible with the Preface of the archbishop was finished in April 1540[1]. Two other editions followed in the same year (July: November, the title-page is dated 1541): and three more in 1541 (May: November: December). These six editions all have Cranmer's prologue, but the third and fifth bear the names of Tunstall and Heath upon the title-page, who are said to have 'overseen and 'perused' the translation 'at the commandment of 'the King's Highness.' The cause of this nominal revision is obvious. Crumwell had been disgraced and executed in July. The work which he had taken so much to heart was naturally suspected; and thus the open sanction of two bishops, prominent among the party opposed to him, was required to confirm its credit. And so it was that at last by a strange irony 'my lord of London'

Nov. 14.

Subsequent editions.

July 28.

[1] Letter 264.

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authorised what was in a large part substantially the very work of Tyndale, which he had before condemned and burnt[1].

The proposed Notes given up.

The variations in the texts of these editions of the Great Bible will be considered afterwards. But one important change was made in the original design of the book which requires to be noticed now. Coverdale, as we have seen, looked upon the notes as an important part of the work, and the reference to them was retained through three editions[2]. With the fall of Crumwell all hope of publishing a commentary disappeared, and the 'pointing hands' were removed. It is not difficult to understand the objections to Coverdale's design, and a narrative which Foxe has preserved will explain the influence which led to its suppression.

[1] The expense of these editions was defrayed, as seems certain, by 'Antony Marler a haberdasher' of London, who presented to Henry a magnificent copy on vellum, with an autograph inscription, which is preserved in the British Museum. Mr Anderson quotes a minute of the Privy Council bearing on his privileges with regard to the sale, dated April 1541 (II. p. 142), and a patent for printing the Bible alone for four years: March 1542 (II. p. 152).

[2] Of April 1539: April 1540: July 1540. After this the ☞—the reference to *notes*—was omitted.

For the relation between the texts of the several issues of the Great Bible see Chap. II. § 4. I cannot tell by what surprising oversight Mr Anderson describes Crumwell's Bible as being *Matthew's* text.

Grafton examined as to the proposed Notes.

'Not long after [the death of Crumwell],' he writes, 'great complaint was made to the king of 'the translation of the Bible, and of the Preface of 'the same, and then was the sale of the Bible com- 'manded to be stayed, the bishops promising to 'amend and correct it, but never performing the 'same. Then Grafton was called and first charged 'with the printing of Matthew's Bible, but he being 'fearful of trouble made excuses for himself in 'all things. Then was he examined of the Great 'Bible, and what notes he was prepared to make. 'To which he answered that he knew none. For 'his purpose was to have retained learned men to 'have made the notes, but when he perceived the 'king's majesty and his clergy not willing to have 'any he proceeded no further. But for all these 'excuses Grafton was sent to the Fleet, and there 'remained six weeks, and before he came out was 'bound in three hundred pounds that he should 'neither sell nor imprint or cause to be imprinted 'any more Bibles until the king and the clergy 'should agree upon a translation. And thus was 'the Bible from that time stayed during the reign 'of Henry VIII.[1]'

The importance of the publication of the Great Bible.

The publication of the Great Bible and the

[1] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, II. p. 135 (fol. ed.).

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injunction for its free exhibition in the Parish Churches marked a memorable epoch. The king in a declaration appointed 'to be read by all cu-'rates upon the publishing of the Bible in English' justly dwelt upon the gravity of the measure. He commanded 'that in the reading and hearing 'thereof, first most humbly and reverently using 'and addressing yourselves unto it'—the curate is speaking to his congregation—'you shall have 'always in your remembrance and memories that 'all things contained in this book is the undoubted 'will, law, and commandment of Almighty God, 'the only and straight mean to know the good-'ness and benefits of God towards us, and the true 'duty of every Christian man to serve him accord-'ingly...And if at any time by reading any doubt 'shall come to any of you, touching the sense 'and meaning of any part thereof; that then, not 'giving too much to your own minds, fancies and 'opinions, nor having thereof any open reasoning 'in your open taverns or alehouses, ye shall have 'recourse to such learned men as be or shall be 'authorised to preach and declare the same. So 'that avoiding all contentions and disputations in 'such alehouses and other places...you use this 'most high benefit quietly and charitably every of

'you, to the edifying of himself, his wife and 'family...[1].'

Bishop Bonner sets up Bibles at St Paul's.

Among others Bp. Bonner 'set up Six Bibles 'in certain convenient places of St Paul's church,' after the king's proclamation in May 1540[2], with an admonition to readers to bring with them 'discretion, honest intent, charity, reverence and 'quiet behaviour. That there should be no such 'number meet together there as to make a multitude. That no exposition be made thereupon 'but what is declared in the book itself. That it 'be not read with noise in time of divine service; 'or that any disputation or contention be used at 'it[3].' It is scarcely surprising that the novelty of the license granted to the people should have led them to neglect these instructions. Bonner was forced, as he pleads, by the great disorders created by the readers to issue a new admonition in which he threatened the removal of the Bibles. 'Diverse 'wilful and unlearned persons,' he writes, 'inconsiderately and indiscreetly...read the same espe-'cially and chiefly at the time of divine service... 'yea in the time of the sermon and declaration of 'the word of God...Wherefore this is eftsoons of

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, II. 735—6. [2] See p. 99, n. 1.
[3] Strype's *Cranmer*, I. 120.

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'honest friendship to require and charitably to de-
'sire and pray every reader of this Book that either
'he will indeed observe and keep my former ad-
'vertisement and friendly admonition adjoined
'hereunto...either else to take in good part and be
'content that the said Bibles for the said abuses be
'taken down, for assuredly, the fault and disorder
'herein not amended but increased, I intend, being
'thereunto enforced, upon right good considera-
'tions, and especially for the said abuses, to take
'down the said Bibles, which otherwise I would be
'right loth to do, considering I have been always
'and still will be by God's grace right glad that
'the Scripture and Word of God should be well
'known and also set forth accordingly[1].'

The Bibles are generally read.

The popular zeal for reading the Scriptures was not always manifested thus inconsiderately. In a public document drawn up to justify the position of the English Church in 1539[2] great stress is laid upon the revolution in common habits which was thus effected. 'Englishmen have now in hand
'in every Church and place and almost every man
'the Holy Bible and New Testament in their mo-

[1] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. App. 14.

[2] A Summary Declaration of the Faith, Uses and Observations in England (dated 1539). Collier, *Ecclesiastical History*, II. *Collection of Records*, 47.

'ther tongue instead of the old fabulous and fan-
'tastical books of the *Table Round, Lancelot du*
'*Lac*, &c. and such other, whose impure filth and
'vain fabulosity the light of God has abolished ut-
'terly.'

One narrative, which is derived from actual experience will illustrate the feelings of the time. It was taken by Strype from a manuscript of Foxe.

'It was wonderful to see with what joy this
'book of God was received not only among the
'learneder sort and those that were noted for lovers
'of the reformation, but generally all England over
'among all the vulgar and common people; and
'with what greediness God's word was read and
'what resort to places where the reading of it was.
'Every body that could bought the book or busily
'read it or got others to read it to them if they
'could not themselves, and divers more elderly
'people learned to read on purpose. And even
'little boys flocked among the rest to hear portions
'of the holy Scripture read. One William Maldon *Maldon's narrative.*
'happening in the company of John Foxe, in the
'beginning of the reign of Q. Elizabeth, and Foxe
'being very inquisitive after those that suffered for
'religion in the former reigns, asked him if he
'knew any that were persecuted for the Gospel of

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'Jesus Christ that he might add it to his Book of 'Martyrs. He told him he knew one that was 'whipped by his own father in king Henry's reign 'for it. And when Foxe was very inquisitive who 'he was and what was his name, he confessed it 'was himself; and upon his desire he wrote out 'all the circumstances. Namely that when the 'king had allowed the Bible to be set forth to be 'read in all Churches immediately several poor 'men in the town of Chelmsford in Essex, where 'his father lived and he was born, bought the New 'Testament and on Sundays sat reading of it in 'the lower end of the Church: many would flock 'about them to hear their reading; and he among 'the rest, being then but fifteen years old, came 'every Sunday to hear the glad and sweet tidings 'of the Gospel. But his father observing it once 'angrily fetched him away and would have him 'say the Latin Matins with him, which grieved him 'much. And as he returned at other times to hear 'the Scripture read, his father still would fetch him 'away. This put him upon the thoughts of learn-'ing to read English that so he might read the 'New Testament himself; which when he had by 'diligence effected he and his father's apprentice 'bought the New Testament, joining their stocks

'together, and to conceal it laid it under the bed-
'straw and read it at convenient times. One night
'his father being asleep he and his mother chanced
'to discourse concerning the crucifix, and kneeling
'down to it and knocking on the breast then used,
'and holding up the hands to it when it came by
'on procession. This he told his mother was plain
'idolatry....His mother enraged at him for this
'said, "Wilt thou not worship the cross which was
'about thee when thou wert christened and must
'be laid on thee when thou art dead?" In this
'heat the mother and son departed and went to
'their beds. The sum of this evening's conference
'she presently repeats to her husband; which he
'impatient to hear and boiling in fury against his
'son for denying worship to be due to the cross,
'arose up forthwith and goes into his son's chamber
'and, like a mad zealot, taking him by the hair of
'his head with both his hands pulled him out of
'the bed and whipped him unmercifully. And
'when the young man bore this beating, as he
'related, with a kind of joy, considering it was for
'Christ's sake and shed not a tear, his father seeing
'that was more enraged, and ran down and fetched
'an halter and put it about his neck, saying he
'would hang him. At length with much entreaty

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'of the mother and brother he left him almost 'dead[1].'

It would be impossible to paint in more vivid colours the result of the first open reading of the English Bible, and the revelation which it made of the thoughts of many hearts. Classes and households were divided. On the one side were the stern citizens of the old school to whom change seemed to be the beginning of the license: on the other young men burning with eager zeal to carry to the uttermost the spiritual freedom of which they had caught sight. And between them were those to whom all they had been taught to reverence was still inestimably precious while yet they could not press to extremity those by whom the old tenets were assailed.

A division among the people.

§ 5. TAVERNER.

Taverner's Bible a revision of Matthew's.

While Crumwell was hurrying forward his Bible in Paris, another edition was being printed in London. This also was based on Matthew, and seems to have been executed in considerable haste. The editor was a layman and a lawyer, R. Taverner, who had a great reputation as a Greek scholar. At an earlier time he was one of the students of

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, I. 91, 92.

'Cardinal College,' Oxford, who had suffered persecution upon the first circulation of Tyndale's New Testament. He was acquainted with Crumwell, and by his influence the king appointed him to be one of his clerks of the signet. In the reign of Edward VI. he had a special license to preach, and a quaint account has been preserved of the studiously unclerical habit—with a velvet bonnet and damask gown, and gold chain, and sword—in which he discharged the duty. It was his humour also, as we are told, 'to quote the law in Greek.' These little touches are important, for they throw no small light upon the spirit in which he accomplished his revision. In one respect he stands above his predecessors. His Dedication to Henry is couched in language full at once of respect and manliness. He gives the king due credit for what he had done and speaks with modesty of his own labours:...'This one thing I dare full well affirm, 'that amongst all your majesty's deservings... 'your highness never did thing more acceptable 'unto God, more profitable to the advancement of 'true christianity, more unpleasant to the enemies 'of the same and also to your grace's enemies, 'than when your majesty licensed and willed the 'most sacred Bible containing the unspotted and

Taverner's account of his work.

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'lively word of God to be in the English tongue 'set forth to your highness' subjects...

'Wherefore the premises well considered, forasmuch as the printers hereof were very desirous to 'have this most sacred volume of the bible come 'forth as faultless and emendably as the shortness 'of time for the recognising of the same would 'require, they desired me your most humble servant 'for default of a better learned diligently to overlook 'and peruse the whole copy...which thing according to my talent I have gladly done.

'These therefore my simple lucubrations and 'labours to whom might I better dedicate than unto 'your most excellent and noble majesty, the only 'author and ground, next God, of this so high a 'benefit unto your grace's people, I mean that the 'holy scripture is communicate unto the same.'

Superseded by the Great Bible.

Taverner's Bible (like Crumwell's) was published in 1539, in two editions, folio and quarto. It is furnished with a marginal commentary based upon Matthew's, but shorter, and containing some original notes. In the same year in which his Bible was printed, Taverner likewise put forth two editions (quarto and octavo) of the New Testament through another publisher; but the appearance of the Great Bible must have checked the sale of his

works. The Bible and the New Testament were each reprinted once, and his Old Testament was adopted in a Bible of 1551. With these exceptions his revision appears to have fallen at once into complete neglect.

§ 6. A Time of Suspense.

The revision of the Bible suspended.

After the publication of the Great Bible (1539—1541) the history of the English Version remains stationary for a long time. Nothing was done to amend it and severe restrictions were imposed upon its use. In 1542 a proposition was made in convocation in the king's name for a translation of the New Testament to be undertaken by the Bishops. The books were portioned out, but Gardiner brought the scheme to an end by pressing the retention of a large number of Latin terms which would practically have made a version such as the Rhemish one was afterwards[1]. As this condition was obviously inadmissible, the king, by Cranmer's influence, resolved to refer the translation to the

Feb. 17.

[1] The list of words is a very strange one. With words like *ecclesia, pœnitentia, pontifex, peccatum, hostia, pascha, impositio manuum, confessio,* which have a dogmatic significance, are others which are practically proper names like *Christus, zizania, didrachma, tetrarcha,* and others again which have apparently no special force, as *simplex, dignus, ejicere, oriens, tyrannus.*

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two Universities. Convocation was no more consulted on the subject, and the Universities did nothing.

Restrictions on the use of the Bible.

In the next year Parliament proscribed all translations bearing the name of Tyndale, and required that the notes in all other copies should be removed or obliterated. At the same time it was enacted that no women (except noble or gentle women), no artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men, husbandmen, or labourers, should read to themselves or to others, publicly or privately, any part of the Bible under pain of imprisonment. Three years later (1546) the king repeated the prohibition against Tyndale's books with many others and included Coverdale's New Testament in the same category. Thus the Great Bible alone remained unforbidden, and it was probably at this time that the great destruction of the earlier Bibles and Testaments took place. And even where the book has been preserved, the title-page has been in many cases destroyed that the true character of the volume might escape the observation of a hasty inquisitor.

Bibles destroyed.

For the proclamation was not allowed to remain idle. The party of the 'old learning' even outran the letter of the edict. This had enjoined

'the burning of certain translations of the New 'Testament,' but, 'they were so bold as to burn 'the whole Bible, because they were of those men's, 'Tyndale's or Coverdale's, translation; and not 'the New Testament only.' Nay more, they were anxious to escape from the responsibility which they had incurred by sanctioning the Great Bible. Tunstall and Heath, who had been 'appointed to 'overlook the translation' at the time of Crumwell's execution, and had 'set their names there-'unto,' 'when they saw the world somewhat like 'to wring on the other side denied it; and said 'they never meddled therewith[1].'

Reaction on the accession of Edward VI.

But in the midst of this reaction Henry died (Jan. 28, 1547). The accession of Edward restored the reforming party to power, and the young king himself is said to have shewn a singular devotion to the Bible. According to some the English Bible was first used at his coronation[2]. 'When three 'swords were brought,' so Strype writes[3], 'signs 'of his being king of three kingdoms, he said, 'there was one yet wanting. And when the nobles

[1] *A Supplication of the poor Commons*, printed in Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, I. 633 ff.

[2] The fact is not mentioned in the order of the Coronation printed by Burnet, and in part by Strype, *Cranmer*, I. 202 ff.

[3] *Eccles. Mem.* II. 35, on the authority of Bal. *de viris Illustr.*

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'about him asked him what that was, he answered, '*The Bible*. "That book," added he, "is the Sword 'of the Spirit, and to be preferred before these 'swords..." And when the pious young king had 'said this, and some other like words, he command-'ed the Bible with the greatest reverence to be 'brought and carried before him.' However this may have been, the work of printing the English Scriptures was carried on during his reign with great activity. Thirty-five Testaments and thirteen Bibles were published in England in the six years and a half for which he occupied the throne. The public use of them was made the subject of special admonition and inquiry. Among the injunctions issued by the king (1547) on his accession was one requiring that all beneficed persons 'shall provide within three months next after this 'visitation, one book of the whole Bible of the 'largest volume in English; and within one twelve 'months next after the said visitation, the Para-'phrasis of Erasmus also in English upon the Go-'spels, and the same set up in some convenient 'place within the ... Church ..., whereas their pa-'rishioners may most commodiously resort unto 'the same and read the same.' And again, 'that 'they shall discourage no man (authorized and

'licensed thereto) from the reading of any part of 'the Bible, either in Latin or in English, but shall 'rather conform and exhort every person to read 'the same, as the very lively word of God, and the 'special food of man's soul that all Christian per-'sons are bound to embrace, believe and follow, if 'they look to be saved[1].' In the next year Cranmer instituted inquiries into the fulfilment of these injunctions in his articles for the visitation of the diocese of Canterbury[2], further asking 'whether... 'priests being under the degree of bachelor of divi-'nity have of their own the New Testament both 'in Latin and English and the Paraphrase of Eras-'mus upon the same.'

But beyond this nothing of moment was actually achieved with regard to the English Version of the Scriptures. At this crisis the constitution of the English Church, and the remoulding of the Service-books was of more urgent importance than the revision of the Bible; but Cranmer did not overlook this work. In 1549 Fagius and Bucer were appointed by his influence to professorships at Cambridge, and during their stay with him at Lambeth, before they entered on their work there, 'the arch-

A revision of the English Bible probably contemplated.

[1] Cardwell's *Doc. Ann.* I. 9. Comp. p. 25.

[2] Cranmer's *Works*, II. p. 155. Compare pp. 161; 81.

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'bishop himself directed of what subject matter 'their lectures should be. As it had been a great 'while his pious and most earnest desire that the 'Holy Bible should come abroad in the greatest 'exactness and true agreement with the original 'text, so he laid this work upon these two learned 'men. First that they should give a clear plain 'and succinct interpretation of the Scripture accord- 'ing to the propriety of the language; and secondly 'illustrate difficult and obscure places and recon- 'cile those that seemed repugnant to one another. 'And it was his will and his advice that to this end 'and purpose their public readings should tend... 'Fagius, because his talent lay in the Hebrew 'learning, was to undertake the Old Testament; 'and Bucer the New...Fagius entered upon the 'Evangelical prophet Esaias and Bucer upon the 'gospel of the Evangelist John, and some chapters 'in each book were dispatched by them. But it 'was not long but both of them fell sick, which 'gave a very unhappy stop to their studies[1].' Nothing indeed is here said of an immediate revision of the authorised Bible, but the instructions point to the direction in which the great archbishop's thoughts were turned.

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, I. 281.

Sir J. Cheke's translation of St Matthew.

Meanwhile a fragment of a version of the New Testament—the Gospel of St Matthew and the beginning of St Mark—was completed by Sir John Cheke, at one time professor of Greek at Cambridge and tutor to Edward VI. He seems to have aimed at giving a thoroughly English rendering of the text, and in this endeavour he went to far greater lengths of quaintness than Taverner. Thus he coins new words to represent the old 'ecclesiastical' terms for which More and Gardiner contended most earnestly: *frosent* (apostle): *biword* (parable): *gainbirth* (regeneration): *uprising* or *gainrising* (resurrection): *tablers* (money-changers): *tollers* (publicans): *freshmen* (proselytes): and uses strange participial forms: *gospeld* (xi. 5): *devild* (viii. 28): *moond* (iv. 24); and even *crossed* for crucified. The fragment remained in manuscript till quite lately[1], and it is not certain that it was designed for publication. As it will not be necessary to revert to it again, a specimen may be given to shew its general style:

'At that time Jesus answered and said: I must 'needs O Father acknowledge thanks unto Thee, 'O Lord of heaven and earth, which hast hidden 'these things from wise and witty men, and hast

[1] By Mr Goodwin, London, 1843.

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'disclosed the same to babes; yea and that, Father, 'for such was thy good pleasure herein. All things 'be delivered me of my Father. And no man 'knoweth the Son but the Father, and he to whom 'the Son will disclose it (*sic*). Come to me all that 'labour and be burdened and I will ease you. 'Take my yoke on you and learn of me, for I am 'mild and of a lowly heart. And ye shall find 'quietness for yourselves. For my yoke is profit-'able (χρηστός) and my burden light.' (Matt. xi. 25—30).

The English Bible in Mary's reign.

In the reign of Mary no English Bible was printed. Rogers and Cranmer were martyred: Coverdale with difficulty escaped to the Continent: the bones of Fagius and Bucer were burnt; but no special measures appear to have been taken for the destruction of the English Scriptures, or for the restriction of their private use. The public use of them in churches was necessarily forbidden. Proclamations against certain books and authors were issued, but no translations of the Old or New Testament were (as before) mentioned by name. Copies of the Bible which had been set up in churches were burnt; but they were not sought out or confiscated. Evidently a great change had come over the country since the time of Henry VIII. And

in the mean time though the English press was inactive the exiles abroad were busy, and at the close of Mary's reign a New Testament was printed at Geneva, which was the first step towards a work destined to influence very powerfully our authorised Version. The origin of this must now be traced.

June 1557.

§ 7. The Genevan Bible.

The Genevan Testament of 1557.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the disastrous discussions at Frankfurt which divided the English exiles of Mary's reign. The task of continuing the revision of the Bible fell naturally to the non-conforming party who retired to Geneva, the active centre of the labours of Calvin and Beza. Among them was W. Whittingham, who married Calvin's sister; and it is to him in all probability that we owe the Genevan Testament, which appeared in 1557 with an Introductory Epistle by Calvin. The reviser's own address to the reader is anonymous, but it is definitely personal, and claims the work for a single man, and no one seems more likely than Whittingham to have undertaken it.

The reviser's account of his work.

'As touching the perusing of the text,' he writes, 'it was diligently revised by the most ap-'proved Greek examples, and conference of trans-

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'lations in other tongues, as the learned may easily 'judge both by the faithful rendering of the sentence, 'and also by the propriety of the words and per-'spicuity of the phrase. Furthermore that the 'reader might be by all means profited, I have 'divided the text into verses and sections[1] accord-'ing to the best editions in other languages.....And 'because the Hebrew and Greek phrases, which 'are strange to render in other tongues and also 'short, should not be too hard, I have sometime 'interpreted them, without any whit diminishing 'the grace of the sense, as our language doth 'use them, and sometime have put to [added] that 'word which lacking made the sentence obscure, 'but have set it in such letters as may easily be 'discerned from the common text.'

The attractiveness of the book was enhanced by a marginal commentary, in which the author boasts that 'to his knowledge he has omitted no-'thing unexpounded, whereby he that is anything 'exercised in the Scriptures of God might justly

[1] The division into verses is marked on the margin of Stephens' Gr. Test. of 1551; but in this edition the text was broken up into verses. The use of italic supplemental words is found in Münster's O.T. 1534, but is said to have been borrowed by the reviser from Beza's Testament of 1556, which I have been unable to see. A different type was employed in the Great Bible to mark various readings.

'complain of hardness.' It was at least far more complete than any yet available for the English reader. So it was that the edition received a ready welcome and soon found its way to England. It was however only the beginning of a larger enterprise. Within a few months after it was finished, a thorough revision of the whole Bible was commenced, and was continued 'for the space 'of two years and more day and night.' The names of those who were engaged upon it are not given, but they were several and perhaps not the same during the whole time. The accession of Elizabeth broke up the society in part, but 'Whit-'tingham with one or two more did tarry at 'Geneva an year and a half after Q. Elizabeth 'came to the Crown, being resolved to go through 'with the work[1].' These were probably Gilby and Sampson[2]. Under their care the Bible was finished in 1560, and dedicated to Q. Elizabeth in bold and simple language without flattery or reserve.

The revision of the Bible undertaken.

Nov. 1558.

April 1560.

'The eyes of all that fear God in all places 'behold your countries,' thus they address the Queen, 'as an example to all that believe, and 'the prayers of all the godly at all times are

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* s. v. Whittingham.

[2] This is well established by Anderson, II. pp. 320 f.

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'directed to God for the preservation of your 'majesty. For considering God's wonderful mer- 'cies toward you at all seasons, who hath pulled 'you out of the mouth of lions, and how that from 'your youth you have been brought up in the 'Holy Scriptures, the hope of all men is so in- 'creased, that they cannot but look that God 'should bring to pass some wonderful work by 'your grace to the universal comfort of his Church. 'Therefore even above strength you must shew 'yourself strong and bold in God's matters... This 'Lord of Lords and King of Kings who hath ever 'defended his, strengthen, comfort and preserve 'your majesty, that you may be able to build up 'the ruins of God's house to His glory, the dis- 'charge of your conscience, and to the comfort 'of all them that love the coming of Christ Jesus 'our Lord[1].'

The cost of the work was defrayed by members of the congregation at Geneva, 'whose hearts God 'touched' to encourage the revisers 'not to spare

[1] The aim of the book was indicated by the original title of the address to the reader, which was 'To our beloved in the 'Lord, the brethren of England, 'Scotland, Ireland, &c.' This superscription was altered in 1578 to 'To the diligent and 'Christian reader,' and afterwards to 'To the Christian 'reader.' (Comp. Anderson, II. 356-7).

'any charge for the furtherance of such a benefit 'and favour of God;' and one of those most actively engaged in this service was John Bodley, the father of the founder of the Bodleian Library, who received afterwards from Elizabeth a patent for the exclusive right to print the revision in England for seven years[3]. A folio edition was published by him in the next year, but this was printed at Geneva, and he does not appear to have availed himself afterwards of the privilege, though the patent may have helped the sale of the work.

Bodley's share in it.

April 1561.

The form in which the Bible was published marked its popular destination. Its size—a moderate quarto—offers a marked contrast to the ponderous folios of Coverdale, Matthew and the Great Bible. With the same view the text was printed for the first time in Roman letter; and the division of the chapters into verses was introduced. A marginal commentary also was added, pure and vigorous in style, and, if slightly tinged with Calvinistic doctrine, yet on the whole neither unjust nor illiberal.

Convenience of the edition.

It was not therefore surprising that from the time of its first appearance the Genevan Bible became the household Bible of the English-

The popular Bible.

[1] Anderson, II. 324.

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speaking nations; and it continued to be so for about three quarters of a century. It was never sanctioned for public use in Churches; but the convenience of its form and the simple clearness of its notes gained it a wide popularity with the mass of the people.

And the intrinsic merits of the book justified its popularity; for it was not without cause that the revisers say when reviewing their work: 'we may 'with good conscience protest that we have in 'every point and word, according to the measure 'of that knowledge which it pleased Almighty God 'to give us faithfully rendered the text, and in all 'hard places most sincerely expounded the same. 'For God is our witness that we have by all means 'endeavoured to set forth the purity of the word 'and right sense of the Holy Ghost for the edify-'ing of the brethren in faith and charity.'

Thus it came to pass that the revision found a ready welcome even from those who were not predisposed in its favour. Some time after the 'Bishops' Bible' was undertaken, Bodley applied to Cecil for an extension of his patent. The Secretary consulted Parker before replying to the request. Parker's answer is conceived in a generous spirit. 'He and the bishop of London [Grindal] thought

Archbp. Parker's judgment.

'so well of the first impression of the Bible and 'the review of those who had since travailed there- 'in, that they wished it would please him [Cecil] 'to be a means that twelve years' longer term 'might be by special privilege granted to Bodley, 'in consideration of the charges sustained by him 'and his associates in the first impression, and the 'review since: that though another special Bible 'for the Churches were meant by them to be set 'forth, as convenient time and leisure hereafter 'should permit, yet should it nothing hinder but 'rather do much good to have diversity of trans- 'lations and readings.....'[1]

§ 8. The Bishops' Bible.

The Genevan revision was, as has been seen,

[1] Strype's *Parker*, I. 412. One other revision of the New Testament must be classed with the Genevan versions, that by Lawrence Tomson, which was professedly based on Beza, and contained a new Commentary, translated in the main from his. This was published in 1576, and dedicated to F. Walsingham and F. Hastings; and became so popular that it was frequently substituted for the Genevan revision in the editions of the Genevan Bible.

Tomson repeats the promise of the Genevan editor with regard to the Commentary with even greater emphasis: 'I dare 'avouch it, and whoso readeth it 'shall so find it, that there is 'not one hard sentence nor dark 'speech nor doubtful word, but 'is so opened and hath such 'light given it, that children may 'go through with it, and the 'simplest that are may walk 'without any guide, without 'wandering and going astray.'

ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

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the work of exiles whose action was unfettered by considerations of national policy. A work was comparatively easy for them which was not possible in the English Church. The commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign was beset by many of the same difficulties which had occupied the great reformers on the accession of Edward VI. In the face of these it was not likely that measures would be taken for the revision of the English Bible. It was enough at first to restore what had been already once established. The injunctions which were issued by the Queen (1559) were closely moulded on those which had been put forth by Edward VI., and contained the same charge for the provision of a copy 'of the whole Bible of the 'largest volume' to be set up in some convenient place in each Church. No limitation however was now added to the general encouragement to read the Scriptures; but it was said significantly that all should 'read the same *with great humility and* '*reverence*, as the very lively word of God[1]'.

Q. Elizabeth's Injunctions.

[1] Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* I. 214. In the Injunctions of 1547 it is said, 'They [the parsons, vicars '&c.] shall discourage no man, '*authorized and licensed thereto*, 'from the reading of any part of 'the Bible either in Latin or in 'English...' In the Injunctions of 1559 the words in italics are omitted. Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* I. pp. 9, 214. On the other hand, the words in italics in the text are not contained in the Injunctions of 1547.

The concessions thus made fell in with the general desire of the people. This was shewn in a characteristic manner during the progress of the Queen from the Tower to Westminster on her accession to the throne. Various symbolic greetings were devised to welcome her on the way; and one above all seems to have attracted popular interest. At the 'Little Conduit in Cheape' a pageant was prepared 'and it was told her Grace 'that there was placed Time. "Time?" quoth she, '"and Time hath brought me hither." And with 'Time also was 'Truth the daughter of Time,' 'who held a book in her hand upon the which was 'written 'Verbum veritatis, the word of Truth'—the Bible in English—'which she delivered to the 'Queen. But she, as soon as she had received the 'book kissed it, and with both her hands held up 'the same and so laid it upon her breast with 'great thanks to the city therefor'—'to the great 'comfort,' it is added afterwards, 'of the lookers-'on[1].'

Popular feeling at her accession.

It is likely indeed that in this respect the zeal of the Queen was suspected to be cooler than that of many about her. 'On the morrow of her coro-'nation,' so Bacon writes, 'it being the custom to

[1] Nichols' *Progresses*, I. pp. 13 ff.

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'release prisoners at the inauguration of a prince.... 'one of her courtiers..... besought her with a loud 'voice, That now this good time there might be 'four or five principal prisoners more released; 'these were the four Evangelists and the apostle 'St Paul, who had been long shut up in an unknown 'tongue, as it were in prison, so as they could not 'converse with the common people. The Queen 'answered very gravely, That it was best first to 'inquire of them whether they would be released 'or no[1].'

Thus at first the Great Bible was allowed to retain its place as the authorised Bible for ecclesiastical use, but the wide circulation of the Genevan edition made its defects generally known, and Parker, who was naturally inclined to biblical studies, as soon as an opportunity offered, took measures for the review of the old translation. This was about 1563–4. The method which he followed has been described by Strype. 'The 'Archbishop,' he writes, 'took upon him the labour 'to contrive and set the whole work a going in a 'proper method, by sorting out the whole Bible 'into parcels....., and distributing those parcels to 'able bishops and other learned men, to peruse and

Archbp. Parker undertakes a revision of the Bible.

His plan.

[1] Bacon, *Collection of Apophthegms*, § 1.

'collate each the book or books allotted them: 'sending withal his instructions for the method 'they should observe; and they to add some short 'marginal notes for the illustration or correction of 'the text. And all those portions of the Bible 'being finished and sent back to the archbishop, he 'was to add the last hand to them and so to take 'care for printing and publishing the whole[3].'

The opinion of Bp. Sandys.

Among those whose help he sought was Sandys, bishop of Worcester. Sandys strongly urged the necessity of the work. 'Your Grace,' he says, 'should much benefit the Church in hastening 'forward the Bible which you have in hand: 'those that we have be not only false printed but 'also give great offence to many by reason of the 'depravity in reading.' In another letter which accompanied his revision of the portion of Scripture assigned to him, he explains more at length the ground of his opinion. 'According to your grace's 'letter of instruction I have perused the book you 'sent me and with good diligence; having also in 'conference with some other considered of the 'same in such sort, I trust, as your Grace will not 'mislike of..... In mine opinion your Grace shall 'do well to make the whole Bible to be diligently

[1] Strype's *Parker*, I. 414.

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'surveyed by some well learned before it be put to 'print.....which thing will require a time. *Sed sat 'cito si sat bene.* The setters forth of this our 'common translation followed Munster too much, 'who doubtless was a very negligent man in his 'doings and often swerved very much from the 'Hebrew.....'[1].

Bp. Guest. Other fragments of correspondence shew some of the difficulties with which Parker had to contend. Guest, bishop of Rochester, in returning the book of Psalms which had been sent to him for correction, gives a singular view of the duties of a translator. 'I have not,' he says, 'altered the translation 'but where it gave occasion of an error. As at 'the first Psalm at the beginning I turn the præter-'perfect tense into the present tense, because the 'sense is too harsh in the præterperfect tense. 'Where in the New Testament one piece of a Psalm 'is reported I translate it in the Psalms according 'to the translation thereof in the New Testament, 'for the avoiding of the offence that may rise to 'the people upon divers translations.....'[2].

Bp. Cox. Again, Cox, bishop of Ely, writing in May, 1566, says, 'I trust your Grace is well forward with the 'Bible by this time. I perceive the greatest burden

[1] Strype's *Parker*, I. 415, 6. [2] Strype's *Parker*, I. 416.

'will lie upon your neck, touching care and travail. 'I would wish that such usual words as we English 'people be acquainted with might still remain in 'their form and sound, so far forth as the Hebrew 'will well bear; ink-horn terms to be avoided. The 'translation of the verbs in the Psalms to be used 'uniformly in one tense.....'[1].

The work finished in 1568.

However, in spite of all difficulties, the work went forward, and the Bishops' Bible, as it was called, appeared in 1568 in a magnificent volume, printed by R. Jugge 'cum privilegio regiæ majestatis.' No word of flattery disfigures the book. It is even without a dedication. But a portrait of the Queen occupies the centre of the engraved title-page, and others of Leicester and Burleigh occur before the book of Joshua and the Psalms. At the end is an elegant couplet on the device of the pelican feeding her young:

> Matris ut hæc proprio stirps est satiata cruore,
> Pascis item proprio, Christe, cruore tuos.

The spirit of the work.

It was not by these signs only that Parker shewed his true sense of the character of the task which he had undertaken. The revisers, speaking through him in the Preface, express a noble consciousness of the immensity of their labour.

[1] Strype's *Parker*, I. 417. Comp. II. 212 ff.

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'There be yet,' they say, quoting the words of John [Fisher] once Bishop of Rochester, 'in the 'Gospels very many dark places which without all 'doubt to posterity shall be made much more open. 'For why should we despair herein, seeing the 'Gospel was delivered to this intent that it might 'be utterly understanded of us, yea to the very 'inch. Wherefore forasmuch as Christ sheweth 'no less love to his Church now than hitherto he 'hath done, the authority whereof is as yet no 'whit diminished, and forasmuch as that Holy 'Spirit [is] the perpetual Keeper and Guardian 'of the same Church, whose gifts and graces do 'flow as continually and abundantly as from the 'beginning: who can doubt but that such things 'as remain yet unknown in the Gospel shall be 'hereafter made open to the later wits of our 'posterity, to their clear understanding?' They felt then that their labour was provisional, and that the Spirit had yet further lessons in His Word to teach to later ages.

The revisers not certainly known.

It is not certainly known by whom the whole revision was actually made. Initials are placed at the end of some of the books, and this Parker says was done by his own wish that the several scholars might be 'more diligent, as answerable for their

'doings.' But it seems evident from the manner in which the initials are distributed that they do not indicate all the contributors[1]. They do not stand at the end of groups of books which might naturally be supposed to have been given to one reviser. Once the same initials are repeated in consecutive books. Some names too are certainly passed over. Lawrence, for example[2], had a considerable part in the revision of the New Testament, and his initials nowhere occur. Of the revisers who can be probably identified eight were bishops, and from them the revision derived its popular title[3].

[1] This is indeed implied in Parker's own language; see p. 136 n. 1.

[2] See Ch. III. § 7.

[3] The initials given are the following (for the identifications I am indebted mainly to the *Historical Account*). At the end of the Pentateuch W. E. [W. Exoniensis William Alley, bp of Exeter]:

of 2 Samuel R. M. [R. Menevensis, Richard Davies, bp of St David's]:

of 2 Chronicles E. W. [E. Wigornensis, Edwyn Sandys, bp of Worcester]:

of Job A. P. *C.* [Andrew Pearson, Canon of Canterbury]:

of the Psalms T. B. [? Thomas Becon]:

of the Song of Solomon A. P. *E.* [Andrew Perne, Canon of Ely]:

of Lamentations R. W. [R. Wintonensis, Robert Horne, bp of Winchester]:

of Daniel T. C. L. [T. Cov. & Lichf., Thomas Bentham, bp of Lichfield and Coventry?]:

of Malachi E. L. [E. Londinensis, Edmund Grindal, bp of London]:

of Wisdom W.C. [afterwards omitted]:

of 2 Maccabees *J. N.* [J. Norvicensis, John Parkhurst, bp of Norwich]:

of the Acts R. E. [R. Eliensis, Richard Cox, bp of Ely]:

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The Bishops' Bible sanctioned by Convocation for public use.

When the edition was ready for publication Parker endeavoured to obtain through Cecil a recognition of it by the Queen. The revision did not, he pleaded, 'vary much from that translation which 'was commonly used by public order, except 'when the verity of the Hebrew and Greek moved 'alteration, or when the text was by some negli-'gence mutilated from the original.' His design was to secure a uniform text for public use, and in some places the Genevan revision was now publicly read, which seemed to be an infringement of ecclesiastical discipline, and yet the Great Bible could not be honestly maintained[1]. There is no

of Romans R. E. [as before]: of 1 Corinthians G. G. [Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster].

In the copy of the edition of 1568 which I have used the letters A. P. *C.* do not occur after Proverbs.

To the other books no initials are appended.

[1] Parker's words are important as describing the care which was spent upon the edition, and the objects for which it was designed: 'Because I would you knew all,' he writes to Cecil, 'I 'send you a note to signify who 'first travailed in the divers 'Books; though after them 'some other perusing was had; 'the letters of their names be 'partly affixed in the end of 'their Books; which I thought 'a policy to shew them, to make 'them more diligent, as answer-'able for their doings.... The 'Printer hath honestly done his 'diligence; if your honour would 'obtain of the Queen's High-'ness that this edition might be 'licensed, and only commended 'in public reading in Churches, 'to draw to one uniformity, it 'were no great cost to the most 'parishes, and a relief to him 'for his great charges sustained.' (*Biblioth. Sussex.* I. pp. 311 f.). He presses for the grant of the Queen's licence 'as well for

evidence to shew whether the Queen returned any answer to his petition. The action of Convocation however was decided, and cannot have been in opposition to the royal will. It was ordered in the 'Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical' of 1571 that 'every archbishop and bishop should 'have at his house a copy of the holy Bible of the 'largest volume as lately printed at London..... 'and that it should be placed in the hall or the 'large dining room, that it might be useful to their 'servants or to strangers[1].' It was also enjoined that each Cathedral should have a copy[2]; and the same provision was extended 'as far as it could be 'conveniently done' to all churches[3].

These injunctions however do not seem to have been rigorously carried out; and sixteen years

'that in many churches they 'want their books, and have 'long time looked for this; as 'for that in certain places, be 'publicly used some translations 'which have not been laboured 'in your realm, having inspersed 'divers prejudicial notes which 'might have been also well 'spared.' (Id. I. p. 313).

[1] Quivis archiepiscopus et episcopus habebit domi suæ sacra Biblia in amplissimo volumine, uti nuperrime Londini excusa sunt, et plenam illam historiam quæ inscribitur 'Monumenta Martyrum' et alios quosdam similes libros ad religionem appositos. Locentur autem isti libri vel in aula vel in grandi cenaculo ut et ipsorum famulis et advenis usui esse possint (Cardwell, *Synodalia*, I. p. 115).

[2] Cardwell, *l.c.*

[3] Æditui...curabunt...ut sacra Biblia sint in singulis Ecclesiis in amplissimo volumine (si commode fieri possit) qualia nunc nuper Londini excusa sunt... (Cardwell, *Synodalia*, I. p. 123).

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afterward Archbishop Whitgift took measures for their better observance. Writing to the Bishop of Lincoln, he says: 'whereas I am credibly informed 'that divers as well parish churches as chapels of 'ease, are not sufficiently furnished with Bibles, 'but some have either none at all, or such as be 'torn and defaced, and yet not of the translation 'authorized by the synods of bishops: these are 'therefore to require you strictly in your visitations 'or otherwise to see that all and every the said 'churches and chapels in your diocese be provided 'of one Bible or more, at your discretion, of the 'translation allowed as aforesaid.....And for the 'performance thereof I have caused her highness' 'printer to imprint two volumes of the said trans- 'lation of the Bible aforesaid, a bigger and a less... 'both which are now extant and ready[1].'

July 16th, 1587.

The Great Bible displaced by the Bishops'.

There is no evidence to shew how far this new effort was successful in securing exclusively for the Bishops' Bible public use in churches. The revision did not at least gain any such hold upon the clergy as to lead even them to adopt it alone privately; and when Martin assailed the English versions (1582) he takes the Great Bible, or the Bishops' or the Genevan indifferently; and Fulke

[1] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, II. 31 f.

in his answer does not claim absolute precedence for any one of them. But while the Genevan Bible held its ground, there can be no doubt that the Great Bible was soon entirely displaced by the Bishops'; and no edition of it appears to have been printed after 1569[1].

§ 9. The Authorised Version.

Two Bibles in use at the accession of James I.

There were thus during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign two rival English Bibles[2], the Bishops', which was sanctioned by ecclesiastical authority for public use, and the Genevan, which

[1] The history of the Roman Catholic Version of Rheims and Douai does not properly belong to the history of our English Bible and may be dismissed very briefly. This version was made in all probability under the influence of [Cardinal] Allen, and Gregory Martin, Fulke's adversary, seems to have had the chief share in its execution. It was made from the Latin Vulgate and not from the original texts, and in the Preface to the New Testament the translators give at length the reasons which led them to take this course. The New Testament was published at Rheims in 1582 with copious controversial notes. The Old Testament was not published till 1609—10, at Douai, though it had been finished many years before. Martin indeed died in 1582, the year when the New Testament was published.

[2] It would be interesting to determine the texts followed by the Elizabethan divines. On this the editions of the Parker Society, as far as I have examined them, give no help. Mr Anderson gives a few examples, II. 338.

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was the common Bible of the people and even of scholars. If we may judge from the editions published the circulation of the latter was more than quadruple that of the former, and the convenient forms in which it appeared marked its popular destination. There are only six editions of the Bishops' Bible in quarto and one in octavo; all the others (thirteen) are in folio; and no small edition was printed after that prepared by authority in 1584. Of the Genevan Bible, on the other hand, there are between 1568 and 1611 sixteen editions in octavo, fifty-two in quarto, and eighteen in folio.

Proposals for a revision of the Bible.

This rivalry was in every way undesirable; and in the conference on ecclesiastical matters which was held at Hampton Court shortly after the accession of James I, the authorised version of the Bible was brought forward as one of the things 'amiss in the Church.' The conference had no official or constitutional character, and was summoned by the king's proclamation, who had not yet himself been recognized as king by Parliament. But though it proved ineffectual in all other points, we owe to it our present Bible. The question was brought forward by Dr Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who quoted

Jan. 16, 1604.

several mistranslations from the authorised Bibles[1]. 'My Lord of London (Bancroft) well added: That 'if every man's humour should be followed there 'would be no end of translating. Whereupon his 'Highness wished some special pains should be 'taken in that behalf for one uniform translation— 'professing that he could never yet see a Bible well 'translated in English; but the worst of all his 'Majesty thought the Geneva to be—and this to be 'done by the best learned in both the Universities; 'after them to be reviewed by the bishops and the 'chief learned of the Church; from them to be 'presented to the Privy Council; and lastly to be 'ratified by his royal authority; and so this whole 'Church to be bound unto it and none other. Marry

[1] Gal. iv. 25; Pss. cv. 28, cvi. 30.

The account given in the Preface to the Authorized Version is somewhat different from, though reconcileable with, Barlow's. 'The very historical 'truth is that upon the impor- 'tunate petitions of the Puritans, 'at his Majesty's coming to this 'crown, the conference at Hamp- 'ton Court having been appoint- 'ed for hearing their complaints: 'when by force of reason they 'were put from all other grounds, 'they had recourse at the last to 'this shift, that they could not 'with good conscience subscribe 'to the Communion book, since 'it maintained the Bible as it 'was there translated, which was, 'as they said, a most corrupted 'translation. And although this 'was judged to be but a very 'poor and empty shift, yet even 'hereupon did his Majesty begin 'to bethink himself of the good 'that might ensue by a new trans- 'lation, and presently after gave 'order for this translation which 'is now presented unto thee.'

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'withal he gave this caveat, upon a word cast out 'by my lord of London, that no marginal notes 'should be added, having found in them which are 'annexed to the Geneva translation, which he saw 'in a Bible given him by an English lady, some 'notes very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring 'too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits '(e.g. those on Ex. i. 19: 2 Chron. xv. 16)[1].'

Nothing further was done at the Conference, and the Ecclesiastical authorities do not appear to have been anxious or even ready to engage in

[1] Barton's *Sum and Substance of the Conference*...(printed in Cardwell's *Hist. of Conferences*), pp. 187-8.

Mr Anderson claims for Dr Reynolds the honour of having proposed originally that the translation should be 'without any 'marginal notes' (II. 371). But the passage of Galloway which he quotes, so far from professing to give Reynolds' own scheme, gives 'the heads which his Ma- 'jesty would have reformed at 'this time.' 'Sundry,' he continues, 'as they favoured gave 'out copies of things here con- 'cluded; whereupon myself took 'occasion, as I was an ear and 'eye witness, to set them down, 'and presented them to his 'Majesty, who with his own 'hand mended some things, and 'eked other things which I had 'omitted: which corrected copy 'with his own hand I have, and 'of it have sent you herein the 'just transumpt word by word...' The conclusion in question is: 'That a translation be made of 'the whole Bible, as consonant as 'can be to the original Hebrew 'and Greek; and this to be set 'out and printed without any mar- 'ginal notes, and only to be used 'in all Churches of England in 'time of divine service' (Cardwell, *Hist. of Conferences*, pp. 213, 214). If Mr Anderson had taken the trouble to read Dr Cardwell, he would have been saved from committing a very serious error, and indulging in a very unworthy comment.

the proposed revision[1]. Bancroft had expressed what was probably a very general feeling; and in the Convocation which followed shortly afterwards (March—July 1604) it was enjoined that every parish as 'yet unfurnished of the Bible of the 'largest volume[2]' should provide one within a convenient time, so that it seems unlikely that they even expected that it would be speedily carried out. But about the same time the King had matured his scheme. It is not known in what manner the scholars to be entrusted with the revision were selected. It appears however that some were submitted to the king who approved of the choice, and the list was complete by June 30th. The undertaking was no doubt really congenial to James' character, and Bancroft writing to Cam-

The king presses forward the scheme.

[1] Still in the note which was made apparently by Bancroft himself of 'things as shall be 'reformed,' occurs 'One uniform 'translation of the Bible to be 'made, and only to be used in 'all the churches of England' (Cardwell, *Hist. of Conferences*, p. 142).

[2] Canon 80. From a comparison with Whitgift's injunctions (p. 138) the reference is probably to the Bishops' Bible. But Dr Reynolds' quotations from the Great Bibles 'allowed 'in the reign of Henry VIII. and 'Edward VI,' as still publicly used, shew that these had not been done away with or forbidden.

It is worthy of notice that in Archbp. Bancroft's visitation articles of 1605 the 'Bible of the 'greatest volume' is not mentioned as in the corresponding articles of Cranmer and Whitgift (§ 48. Cardwell's *Doc. Ann.* II. 110).

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bridge on that day to hasten on its execution adds, 'I am persuaded his royal mind rejoiceth more in 'the good hope which he hath for the happy success 'of that work, than of his peace concluded with 'Spain.' Three weeks afterwards (July 22nd) the king wrote to Bancroft, who was acting as representative of the vacant see of Canterbury, announcing that he had 'appointed certain learned 'men, to the number of four and fifty, for the trans-'lating of the Bible,' and requiring him to take measures whereby he might be able to recompense the translators by church preferment. 'Further-'more,' he adds, 'we require you to move all our 'bishops to inform themselves of all such learned 'men within their several dioceses, as, having especial 'skill in the Hebrew and Greek tongues, have taken 'pains in their private studies of the Scriptures for 'the clearing of any obscurities either in the Hebrew 'or in the Greek, or touching any difficulties or 'mistakings in the former English translation, which 'we have now commanded to be thoroughly viewed 'and amended, and thereupon to write unto them, 'earnestly charging them and signifying our plea-'sure therein that they send such their observations 'either to Mr Lively, our Hebrew reader in Cam-'bridge, or to Dr Harding, our Hebrew reader in

'Oxford, or to Dr Andrews, dean of Westminster, 'to be imparted to the rest of their several com- 'panies; that so our said intended translation may 'have the help and furtherance of all our principal 'learned men within this our kingdom.[1]"

An immediate provision for the revisers proposed.

Having provided in this manner for the future remuneration of the scholars whose services he had engaged, the king was equally prudent in endeavouring to obtain the means of defraying their immediate expenses. These 'his majesty,' it is said, 'was very ready of his most princely disposi- 'tion to have borne, but some of my lords, as 'things now go, did hold it inconvenient;' so 'he 'requested the bishops and chapters to contribute 'toward this work,' with the additional stimulus that 'his majesty would be acquainted with every 'man's liberality.' Bancroft, in communicating this notice to the different dignitaries to whom it applied, adds, 'I do not think a thousand marks 'will finish the work,' so that the amount of the tax might not be left altogether in uncertainty[2]. But in spite of the royal request nothing seems to have been subscribed, and from the life of one of the translators it appears that they received nothing but free entertainment in the colleges till

[1] Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, II. 84. [2] Cardwell, *l.c.* 87 ff.

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some of them met in London for the final revision of the work[1].

The revisers chosen.

It does not appear in what way the actual selection of the revisers was made, but it is most likely that names were suggested by the universities and approved by the king. There is also some discrepancy as to the number engaged upon the work. The king speaks of fifty-four, and only forty-seven names appear upon the list. It is possible that some were originally appointed who did not in the end take any part in the revision, or that a committee of bishops was chosen as an independent group of revisers; but no satisfactory solution of the difficulty has yet been proposed[2]. The delay, however, which took place in the commencement of the revision is sufficient to account for its existence; for though the preliminaries were settled before the end of 1604, the revision does not appear to have been seriously undertaken till 1607[3]. The death of Mr Lively in 1605 was

[1] Walker's *Life of Boys*, quoted by Anderson, II. 381.

[2] Of the bishops, Bancroft, though not among the translators, is said to have 'altered the translation in fourteen places' to make it 'speak prelatical language,' and to have been 'so potent' in pressing his corrections 'that there was no contradicting him' (Dr Hill quoted by Mr Anderson, II. 378).

[3] Some of the revisers may indeed have begun their work at once. Thus Boys is said to have worked for four years before the final revision, which took nine months (*Life*, quoted by Ander-

no doubt a grave check to the progress of the scheme, and it is not hard to imagine other obstacles which may have hindered it.

The revisers divided into six groups.

When at length the whole plan was ready for execution, the translators were divided into six companies, of which two met respectively at Westminster, Cambridge, and Oxford, and the whole work was thus divided among them[1].

Westminster.	Dr L. Andrews, Dean of Westminster.	Genesis to 2 Kings inclusive.
	Dr J. Overall, Dean of St Paul's.	
	Dr A. de Sararia, Canon of Canterbury.	
	Dr R. Clark, Fellow of Christ's Coll., Cambridge.	
	Dr J. Layfield, Fellow of Trin. Coll., Cambridge.	
	Dr R. Teigh.	
	Mr F. Burleigh.	
	Mr G. King, Fellow of King's Coll., Cambridge.	
	Mr Thompson, Clare Hall, Camb.	
	Mr Bedwell.	

son, II. 381). But the translators fix about two years and three-quarters as the length of time spent on the revision. See p. 154.

[1] This list is taken chiefly from Dr Cardwell's reprint of Burnet's list (*Doc. Annals*, II. 140 ff.). It is only approximately correct, and does not suit exactly the date 1604, as Barlow was not then Dean of Chester, nor 1607, when Mr Lively was dead. Two other names, Dr J. Aglionby and Dr L. Hutton, are given elsewhere, in place of Dr Eedes and Dr Ravens. See Cardwell, *l.c.* p. 144 n. The spelling of the names, it scarcely need be added, varies considerably.

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Cambridge.	Mr Lively, Fellow of Trin. Coll.	1 Chron. to Eccles. inclusive.
	Mr Richardson, afterwards Master of Trin. Coll.	
	Mr Chatterton, Master of Emm. Coll.	
	Mr Dillingham, Fellow of Christ's Coll.	
	Mr Harrison, Vice-Master of Trin. Coll.	
	Mr Andrews, afterwards Master of Jesus Coll.	
	Mr Spalding, Fellow of St John's.	
	Mr Byng, Fellow of St Peter's Coll.	
Oxford.	Dr Harding, Pres. of Magd. Coll.	Isaiah to Malachi.
	Dr Reynolds, Pres. of Corpus Christi Coll.	
	Dr Holland, afterwards Rector of Ex. Coll.	
	Dr Kilbye, Rector of Lincoln Coll.	
	Dr Miles Smith, Brasenose Coll.	
	Dr R. Brett, Fellow of Lincoln Coll.	
	Mr Fairclough, Fellow of New Coll.	
Cambridge.	Dr Duport, Master of Jesus Coll.	The Apocrypha.
	Dr Branthwait, Master of Caius Coll.	
	Dr Radcliffe, Fellow of Trin. Coll.	
	Dr Ward, afterwards Master of Sid. Coll.	
	Mr Downes, Fellow of St John's Coll.	
	Mr Boys, Fellow of St John's Coll.	
	Mr Ward, Fellow of King's Coll.	

Oxford.	Dr T. Ravis, Dean of Ch. Ch. Dr G. Abbot, Dean of Winchester. [Dr R. Eedes, Dean of Worcester.] Dr G. Thompson, Dean of Windsor. Mr (Sir H.) Savile, Provost of Eton. Dr Perin, Fellow of St John's Coll. [Dr Ravens, Fellow of St John's Coll.] Dr Harmer, Fellow of New Coll.	The four Gospels, Acts, Apocalypse.
Westminster.	Dr. W. Barlow, Dean of Chester. Dr Hutchinson. ? Dr T. Spencer, Pres. of Corp. Chr. Coll., Oxford. ? Mr Fenton. ? Mr Rabbett. ? Mr Sanderson. ? Mr Dakins, Fellow of Trin. Coll., Cambridge.	Romans to Jude inclusive.

Linguistic attainments of the revisers.

Of these scholars many (as Andrews, Overall, Savile, and Reynolds) have obtained an enduring reputation apart from this common work in which they were associated. Others whose names are less familiar, were distinguished for special acquirements requisite for their task. Lively, Spalding, King, and Byng were successively professors of Hebrew at Cambridge, and Harding and Kilbye at Oxford. Harmer and Perin were professors of Greek at Oxford, and Downes at Cambridge; Bedwell was the most distinguished Arabic scholar

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of the time. Saravia was an accomplished modern linguist. Thompson (Camb.), Chatterton, Smith, and Boys were equally distinguished for their knowledge of ancient languages. It is one sign of the large choice of Hebraists which was offered at the time that Boys, who was especially famous for oriental learning, was originally employed upon the Apocrypha.

The instructions given for the revision.

No doubt can be entertained as to the ability and acquirements of the revisers. At the same time care was taken to check individual fancies. Their duty was accurately defined in a series of rules which were drawn up probably under the direction of Bancroft. These provide for an elaborate scheme of revision as well as furnish general directions for the execution of the work[1].

1. 'The ordinary Bible read in the Church, 'commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be fol-'lowed, and as little altered as the truth of the 'original will permit.

2. 'The names of the prophets and the holy 'writers, with the other names of the text to be

[1] The text of the rules varies in different books. I have followed Burnet, *Hist. of Reformation*, II. App. 10, who quotes '*ex MS. D. Berlase.*'

An account of the rules given by the English delegates to the Synod of Dort reduces the final number of the rules to seven. Anderson, II. 377.

'retained as nigh as may be, accordingly as they 'were vulgarly used.

3. 'The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, viz. 'the word *Church* not to be translated *Congrega-* '*tion*, &c.

4. 'When a word hath divers significations, that 'to be kept which hath been most commonly used 'by the most of the ancient fathers, being agreeable 'to the propriety of the place and the analogy of 'the faith.

5. 'The division of the chapters to be altered 'either not at all or as little as may be, if necessity 'so require.

6. 'No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but 'only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek 'words, which cannot, without some circumlocution, 'so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text.

7. 'Such quotations of places to be marginally 'set down as shall serve for the fit reference of one 'Scripture to another.

8. 'Every particular man of each company to 'take the same chapter or chapters; and having 'translated or amended them severally by himself 'where he thinketh good, all to meet together, con- 'fer what they have done, and agree for their parts 'what shall stand.

9. 'As any one company hath dispatched any 'one book in this manner, they shall send it to the 'rest to be considered of seriously and judiciously; 'for his majesty is very careful in this point.

10. 'If any company, upon the review of the 'book so sent, doubt or differ upon any place, to 'send them word thereof, note the place, and withal 'send the reasons; to which if they consent not, the 'difference to be compounded at the general meet-'ing, which is to be of the chief persons of each 'company at the end of the work.

11. 'When any place of special obscurity is 'doubted of, letters to be directed by authority to 'send to any learned man in the land for his judg-'ment of such a place.

12. 'Letters to be sent from every bishop to 'the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this 'translation in hand, and to move and charge as 'many as being skilful in the tongues and having 'taken pains in that kind, to send his particular 'observations to the company either at Westmin-'ster, Cambridge, or Oxford.

13. 'The directors in each company to be the 'Deans of Westminster and Chester for that place 'and the king's professors in the Hebrew or Greek 'in either university.

14. 'These translations to be used when they 'agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible: 'Tindale's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, 'Geneva.

15. 'Besides the said directors before men- 'tioned, three or four of the most ancient and 'grave divines in either of the universities, not 'employed in translating, to be assigned by the 'Vice-Chancellor upon conference with the rest of 'the Heads to be overseers of the translations, as 'well Hebrew as Greek, for the better observation 'of the fourth rule above specified[1].'

The revisers' account of their work.

It is impossible to tell how far all these provisions were adhered to. Almost all that is certainly known of the proceedings of the revisers is contained in the noble preface which the printers have removed from modern editions of the Bible. In this Dr Miles Smith, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, writing in the name of his fellow-labourers, gives some account of the time which was spent upon the revision, and of the manner and spirit in which it was executed. 'We did not,' he says, 'run over the work with that posting haste that the

[1] This last rule appears to have been added afterwards, when the practical difficulty of Rule 4 began to be felt. *Historical Account*, p. 153.

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'Septuagint did, if that be true which is reported 'of them, that they finished it in seventy-two 'days..... The work hath not been huddled up 'in seventy-two days, but hath cost the workmen, 'as light as it seemeth, the pains of twice seven 'times seventy-two days and more' (about two years and nine months). 'We were so far off,' he writes again, 'from condemning any of their la- 'bours that travailed before in this kind, either in 'this land or beyond sea, either in K. Henry's time 'or K. Edward's (if there were any translation or 'correction of a translation in his time), or Q. 'Elizabeth's of ever-renowned memory, that we ac- 'knowledge them to have been raised up of God, 'for the building and furnishing of his Church, and 'that they deserve to be had of us and of posterity 'in everlasting remembrance'..... Still, 'let us 'bless God from the ground of our heart for work- 'ing this religious care in [the King] to have the 'translations of the Bible maturely considered of 'and examined. For by this means it cometh to 'pass that whatsoever is sound already (and all is 'sound for substance in one or other of our edi- 'tions, and the worst of ours far better than their '[the Romanists] authentic Vulgate) the same will 'shine as gold, more brightly being rubbed and

'polished; also if any thing be halting or superfluous or not so agreeable to the original, the same may be corrected and the truth set in place...' And thus, summing up all briefly, he says, 'Truly, good Christian reader, we never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new translation nor yet to make of a bad one a good one..... but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against: that hath been our endeavour, that our mark. To that purpose there were many chosen that were greater in other men's eyes than in their own, and that sought the truth rather than their own praise..... Neither did we think [it] much to consult the translators or commentators, Chaldee, Hebrew, Syrian, Greek or Latin, no nor the Spanish, French, Italian, or Dutch [German][1]; neither did

[1] Selden, in his *Table Talk*, has given a similar account of the proceeding of the translators, which he may have received from some one who was engaged in the work: 'The English Translation of the Bible is the best Translation in the World and renders the Sense of the Original best, taking in for the English Translation the Bishops' Bible as well as King James's. The Translation in King James' time took an excellent way. That part of the Bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a tongue (as the Apocrypha to Andrew Downs) and then they met together, and one read the Translation, the rest holding in their hands some Bible, either of the learned

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'we disdain to revise that which we had done, and 'to bring back to the anvil that which we had 'hammered; but having and using as great helps 'as were needful, and fearing no reproach for slow-'ness nor coveting praise for expedition, we have 'at the length, through the good hand of the Lord 'upon us, brought the work to that pass that you 'see.'

The revision prepared for the press.

When the revision was completed at the different centres, two members were chosen from each company to superintend the final preparation of the work for the press in London; and 'Three 'copies of the whole Bible were sent there, one 'from Cambridge, a second from Oxford, and a 'third from Westminster[1].' It is not likely that this committee did more than arrange the materials which were already collected; but whatever their work was, it was completed in nine months, and the whole labour of the revision was thus brought to a successful end[2].

'Tongues, or French, Spanish, 'Italian, &c.: if they found any 'fault they spoke, if not he read 'on' (*Table Talk*, p. 20, ed. 1868).

[1] Walker's *Life of Boys*, quoted by Anderson, II. 381.

[2] It is remarkable that none of the many copies of the Bishops' Bible used for the revision have yet been discovered. There is an interesting volume in the Bodleian Library (Bishops' Bible, Barker, 1602), which has been commonly supposed to be one of the copies prepared for the press.

The Royal Bible published.

The revised version appeared at length from the press of R. Barker, in 1611. The book is said 'to be newly translated out of the original tongues; 'and with the former translations diligently com- 'pared and revised by his Majesty's special com- 'mand.' A further notice adds that it is 'appointed 'to be read in churches.' From what has been said, it will appear with what limitations the first statement must be interpreted. The second is more difficult of explanation; for no evidence has

The text is corrected throughout some books to the Royal Version; and in some cases letters are attached (g, j, t) which appear to indicate the sources from which the corrections were derived. Mr J. Wordsworth, Fellow of Brasenose, has kindly given me the following summary of the extent of the corrections:

Gen. i.—xxv. with g, j, t, and perhaps another letter.

Gen. xxvi. to Joshua inclusive with g (j again from Deut. xxxii. to end).

Judges—Is. iv. corrected without added letters; and so also

Jer. i.—iv.

Ezech. i.—iv.

Dan. i.—iv.

The Minor Prophets.

St Matthew, St Mark, St Luke.

St John xvii. to end.

There are also two notes on Eph. iv. 8, 2 Thess. ii. 15.

From collations which I owe to the great kindness of Rev. H. O. Coxe, the Bodleian Librarian, it is certain that 'g' marks corrections obtained from the Genevan Version. The materials which I have are not as yet sufficient to identify 't' and 'j.'

The history of the book is unknown; but the occurrence of the reference-letters is at least a certain proof that it was not designed for the press. In all probability it contains simply a scholar's collation of the Royal and Bishops' texts, with an attempt to trace the origin of the corrections.

The corrections throughout the O. T. are apparently in the same hand: those in the N. T. are in a different hand and 'considerably more modern.'

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yet been produced to shew that the version was ever publicly sanctioned by Convocation or by Parliament, or by the Privy Council, or by the king. It gained its currency partly, it may have been by the weight of the king's name, partly by the personal authority of the prelates and scholars who had been engaged upon it, but still more by its own intrinsic superiority over its rivals.

Slow progress of the Version towards universal acceptance.

The printing of the Bishops' Bible was at once stayed when the new version was definitely undertaken. No edition is given in the lists later than 1606, though the New Testament from it was reprinted as late as 1618 (or 1619). So far ecclesiastical influence naturally reached. But it was otherwise with the Genevan Version which was chiefly confined to private use. This competed with the King's Bible for many years, and it was not till about the middle of the century that it was finally displaced. And thus, at the very time when the monarchy and the Church were, as it seemed, finally overthrown, the English people by their silent and unanimous acceptance of the new Bible gave a spontaneous testimony to the principles of order and catholicity of which both were an embodiment.

A new revision proposed.

Some steps indeed were taken for a new ver-

sion during the time of the Commonwealth. The Long Parliament shortly before it was dissolved made an order (April 1653) that 'a Bill 'should be brought in for a new translation of the 'Bible out of the original tongues,' but nothing more was done at that time[1]. Three years afterwards the scheme was revived, and Whitelocke has preserved an interesting account of the proceedings which followed. *Jan.* 16, 1656 (i. e. 1657).

'At the grand committee [of the House] for 'Religion, ordered That it be referred to a sub-'committee to send for and advise with Dr Walton, 'Mr Hughes, Mr Castle, Mr Clark, Mr Poulk, Dr 'Cudworth, and such others as they shall think 'fit, and to consider of the Translations and im-'pressions of the Bible, and to offer their opinions 'thereon to this Committee; and that it be espe-'cially commended to the Lord Commissioner 'Whitelocke to take care of this business.'

'This committee often met at my house,' writes Whitelocke, 'and had the most learned men in 'the Oriental tongues to consult with in this great 'business, and divers [made] excellent and learned 'observations of some mistakes in the Translations 'of the Bible in English; which yet was agreed *Feb.* 6.

[1] Lewis, *Hist. of Translations*, 354.

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'to be the best of any Translation in the world. 'I took pains in it, but it became fruitless by the 'Parliament's Dissolution[1]'.

The Royal Bible unanimously received from the middle of the xviith century.

With this notice the external history of the English Version appropriately ends. From the middle of the seventeenth century, the King's Bible has been the acknowledged Bible of the English-speaking nations throughout the world simply because it is the best. A revision which embodied the ripe fruits of nearly a century of labour, and appealed to the religious instinct of a great Christian people, gained by its own internal character a vital authority which could never have been secured by any edict of sovereign rulers[2].

[1] Whitelocke, *Memoirs*, p. 654.

[2] The labours of Hugh Broughton on the English Bible ought not to be passed over without notice. This great Hebraist violently attacked the Bishops' Bible, and sketched a plan for a new version which his own arrogance was sufficient to make impracticable. He afterwards published translations of Daniel, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Job, and offered his help towards the execution of the royal version. His overbearing temper, as it appears, caused him to be excluded from the work; but his printed renderings were not without influence upon the revisers: e. g. Dan. iii. 5. Lewis, *Hist. of Translations*, 297 ff.

CHAPTER III.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

Oh, if we draw a circle premature
Heedless of far gain,
Greedy for quick returns of profit, sure
Bad is our bargain!
Was it not great? did not he throw on God,
(He loves the burthen)—
God's task to make the heavenly period
Perfect the earthen.....
That low man seeks a little thing to do,
Sees it and does it:
This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
Dies ere he knows it.....
That has the world here—should he need the next,
Let the world mind him!
This, throws himself on God, and unperplext
Seeking shall find Him.....
Lofty designs must close in like effects:
Loftily lying,
Leave him—still loftier than the world suspects,
Living and dying.

CHAPTER III.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

Revival of the study of Greek and Hebrew.

SUCH in a general outline was the external history of the English Bible. We have still to inquire how it was made? with what helps? on what principles? by what laws it was modified from time to time? and how far our authorised version bears in itself the traces of its gradual formation? To some of these questions only tentative or imperfect answers can be rendered at present; yet it is something to clear the way to a fuller investigation; and when once the novelty and complication of the problems become evident, it cannot fail but that a combination of labour will achieve their complete solution. Hitherto nothing has been done systematically towards the work. A few vague surmises and hasty generalizations have gained unchallenged currency and stopped thorough search; yet when viewed

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simply in its literary aspect, the history of the growth of the authorised text involves a more comprehensive and subtle criticism, and is therefore filled with a deeper interest, than any similar history. Each revision stands in a definite relation to a particular position of the English Church, and may be expected to reflect its image in some degree. Moreover we possess the work at each stage of its structure and not only in its final completeness. Each part can be examined as it was first planned and executed, and not only as it was finally incorporated into a more complex whole. We can even determine the materials out of which it was raised, and the various resources of which its authors could avail themselves at each point of their task. For us the result stands now amidst the accumulated treasures of later researches. But if we would appreciate it rightly in itself we must once again surround it by the conditions under which it was obtained.

Problems involved in the internal history of the English Bible.

The close of the 15th century sealed a revolution in Europe. The ecclesiastical language of the West had given place to or at least admitted into fellowship the sacred languages of the East. It was in vain that the more ignorant of the clergy denounced Greek and Hebrew as the fatal sources

of heathenism and Judaism: it was vain that they could be popularly represented as emblems of apostate peoples of GOD while the Latin symbolized the faithful: the noblest and most far-seeing scholars, lay or cleric, recognized in the new learning a handmaid of religion, and took measures for its honourable admission into the circle of liberal education. In his University at Alcala the great Cardinal Ximenes made provision for the teaching of Hebrew and Greek with Latin, and consecrated the study in his noble Polyglott. At Louvain a foundation for the like purpose was added to the University about 1516 by Busleiden. Wolsey appears to have contemplated a similar course in his College at Oxford, where he founded in 1519 a chair of Greek[1]. When complaints were made, Henry, acting no doubt under his inspiration, enjoined that 'the study of the Scriptures in their 'original languages should not only be permitted 'for the future, but received as a branch of the 'academical institution[2].' The work of Wolsey was left unfinished, but it is not without interest to find among his canons two, John Fryth and Richard Taverner, who became afterwards distin-

Alcala.

Louvain.

Oxford.

[1] Bp. Fox had founded one two years earlier in 1517.

[2] Anderson, I. 24.

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guished for their labours in the translation of Scripture, and at least seven others who were sufferers by the first persecution which followed after the introduction of Tyndale's New Testament[1]. Thus everywhere men were being disciplined for the rendering the original text of the Bible into the living languages of Europe, and at the end of the first quarter of the 16th century sufficient materials were gathered for the accomplishment of their office.

Helps to the study of Greek.

The appliances for the independent study of the Greek of the New Testament and the Septuagint Version of the Old were fairly adequate. Grammars were in wide circulation, of which the earliest was that of Lascaris (Milan, 1476) and the most enduring that of Clenardus (Louvain, 1530). In the interval between the appearance of these, numerous others were published in Italy, France, and Germany[2]. The first lexicon of Craston (1480) was republished in a more convenient form by Aldus (1497) and supplemented by the important collections of Guarino (Phavorinus) in his *Etymologicum Magnum*. But these and all other earlier lexicons were eclipsed by the so-called *Com-*

[1] Compare the lists given by Anderson, I. pp. 86, 95.

[2] One at *Wittenberg* in 1561.

mentaries of Budæus (Paris 1529), a true *Thesaurus* of Greek, which still remains a vast monument and storehouse of learning. The very names of many of the great German scholars shew the passion with which the study was pursued. Melanchthon (*Schwarzerd*), Œcolampadius (*Hausschein*), Capnio (*Reuchlin*), Erasmus (*Gerhard*), Ceratinus (*Horn*), are memorable instances to prove the power of Greek to furnish home names to the Teutonic nations. And though England can boast of no original Greek works till a later time, yet Croke, a scholar of Grocyn, first introduced a thorough knowledge of the language into northern Germany, where, it is said, he was received 'like a heavenly messenger[1]'.

Helps to the study of Hebrew.

The pursuit of Hebrew was not less flourishing in the North. In Italy Greek had been welcomed at first as a new spring of culture. Beyond the Alps Greek and Hebrew were looked upon as the keys to Divine Truth. So it was that while Greek languished in Italy and Hebrew scarcely gained a firm footing among the mass of students; in Germany both were followed up with an ardent zeal which for good alike and for evil is yet fruitful in great issues. An Italian of the early part of the

[1] Hallam, *Introd. to Literature*, I. 268 n.

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16th century instinctively marked the spiritual difference of the North and South when he observed that in Germany Hebrew was prized in the same manner as Latin in Italy. Thus the early translators of the Old Testament found materials already fitted for their use. The first Hebrew Grammar was composed by Pellican (1503). This was followed by that of Reuchlin, with a dictionary, in 1506. Another by S. Münster appeared in 1525, who published also a Chaldee grammar in 1527. Pagninus, the translator of the Bible, added a new dictionary in 1529. The great Complutensian Polyglott (published 1520, finished 1517) contained a Latin translation of the Targum of Onkelos and a complete Lexicon to the Hebrew and Chaldee texts, with a Hebrew grammar.

Publications of the Latin, Hebrew, and Greek texts of the Scriptures.

In the meantime, while all the chief classical authors had been published, the original texts and some of the ancient versions of Holy Scripture had also become accessible. The Latin Vulgate is supposed to have been the first book printed (*c.* 1455), and this first edition was followed by a multitude of others, in some of which, and notably in the Latin text of the Complutensian Polyglott, old manuscripts were used.

The Hebrew of the Old Testament was first

published completely at Soncino in 1488. Many other editions followed, which were crowned by the great Rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg in 1518 and 1525: these were furnished with the Targums and the commentaries of the greatest early Jewish scholars. Complete Latin translations from the Hebrew were made by Sanctes Pagninus (1527), and by Sebast. Münster (1534—5). Considerable portions were rendered afresh in Latin by Zwingli and Œcolampadius; and single books by many writers before 1535. The Septuagint was contained in the Complutensian Polyglott, and in a distinct text in the edition of Aldus 1518. The Greek Testament appeared for the first time many years after the Latin and Hebrew texts edited by Erasmus with a new Latin Translation in 1516[1]. A second edition followed in 1519: a third, which may be considered his standard edition, in 1522; and others in 1527, and 1535. An edition from the press of Aldus with some variations appeared together with the Septuagint in 1518. The Complutensian Polyglott printed in 1514, in which there is an independent text of the New Testament, was not published till 1520. Other editions followed

[1] In the same year appeared his edition of St Jerome, the most important of the Fathers for a translator of the Bible.

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soon after which have little or no independent value.

It remains only to characterize generally the critical value of these editions. The Hebrew text of the Old Testament edited by Ben Chayim (1525) is substantially good. Indeed as Hebrew Manuscripts all belong to a comparatively late recension the extent of real variation between them is limited. The Latin texts accessible in the first half of the 16th century were indifferent. The Greek texts of the New Testament, and this is most important, were without exception based on scanty and late manuscripts, without the help of the oriental versions and the precious relics of the Old Latin. As a necessary consequence they are far from correct, and if the variations are essentially unimportant as a whole, yet the errors in the text of our English Testament inherited from them are considerably more important than the existing errors of translation.

The first independent German Versions.

Such were the materials which the first great Reformers found to help them in their work of rendering the original Scriptures into their own languages. Before the English labourers entered the field it was already occupied. Numerous students in Germany had translated separate books

when Luther commenced the work which he was enabled to carry to a successful end. Luther's New Testament appeared in 1522 as the fruit of his seclusion in the Wartburg, and, like Tyndale's, anonymously. The Pentateuch followed in 1523. The Historical books and the Hagiographa in 1524. The Prophets at various intervals (Jonah in 1526) afterwards; and the whole work in 1534. The second revised edition did not appear till 1541. But in the meanwhile a band of scholars at Zurich, including Zwingli, Pellican and Leo Juda, had taken Luther's work as the basis of a new translation up to the end of the Hagiographa, and completed it by an original translation of the Prophets and the Apocrypha. This was published in fragments from 1524—1529, and first completely in two forms in the latter year. It was republished in 1530, and with a new translation of the Hagiographa in 1531, and often afterwards[1]. Another German Bible with an original translation of the Prophets appeared at Worms in 1529[2]. The French translation of Lefèvre (Faber Stapulensis) was made

Luther.

Zurich Bible.

Worms Bible.

French translations.

[1] The editions which I have used are those of 1530 and 1534. I have not been able to consult the small edition of 1529 with glosses; nor have I collated the two editions or determined how far the translation in the earlier books differs as a whole from Luther's. The difference in isolated passages is very considerable.

[2] This edition I have not used.

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(1523—1530) from the Vulgate, and was not an independent work: that of Olivetan (Neuchâtel 1535) is said to have been based in the Old Testament on Sanctes Pagninus, and in the New on Lefèvre[1].

The works of the first German translators, or at least of Luther, must then be added to those previously enumerated as *possibly* accessible to Tyndale[2] during the execution of his version of the New Testament. Luther's name was indeed at the time identified with the idea of vernacular versions of Scripture, and it is not surprising that More affirmed that Tyndale's work was a translation of Luther's, an assertion in which he has been followed by writers who have less excuse[3]. What

[1] I have not examined Lefèvre's translation; and am ignorant also of the real character of Bruccioli's Italian version (1530—1532), which is said to have been made from the original.

[2] The Wycliffite Versions do not seem to have exercised any influence on the later English Versions, unless an exception be made in the case of the Latin-English Testament of Coverdale mentioned above. The coincidences of rendering between this and Purvey are frequently remarkable, but as both literally reproduce the Vulgate I have been unable to find (so far as I have examined them) any certain proof of the dependence of one on the other.

As far as Tyndale is concerned—and his work was the undoubted basis of the later revisions—his own words are sufficient: 'I had,' he says in the New Testament, 'no man to 'counterfeit [imitate], neither 'was helped with English of any 'that had interpreted the same 'or such like thing in the Scrip-'ture beforetime.' (*Epistle to the Reader*, I. p. 390.)

[3] Hallam's account is so amazing from the complication of blunders which it involves that

Tyndale's version really was we have now to inquire.

§ 1. Tyndale.

Tyndale acquainted with Greek and Hebrew.

All external evidence goes to prove Tyndale's originality as a translator. He had, as we have seen, formed his purpose of translating the New Testament before he could have heard of Luther's[1], and in the year in which that appeared (1522) went up to London with a translation from Isocrates as a proof of his knowledge of Greek. His knowledge of Hebrew and Greek is also incidentally attested by the evidence of Spalatinus[2], of his opponent Joye[3], and yet more clearly by the steady confidence with which he deals with points of Hebrew and Greek philology when they casually arise. Thus after defending his renderings of *presbyteros* (elder), *charis* (favour), *agape* (love), &c.

it deserves to be quoted as a curiosity. 'From this translation '[Luther's], and from the Latin 'Vulgate, the English one of Tyn-'dale and Coverdale, published 'in 1535 or 1536, is avowedly 'taken...That of 1537, common-'ly called Matthew's Bible, from 'the name of the printer, though 'in substance the same as Tyn-'dale's, was superintended by 'Rogers...' (*Introd. to Lit.* I. 373.) It is impossible that he could have examined any one of the books of which he thus summarily disposes.

[1] See above, p. 32.

[2] See above, p. 42.

[3] Anderson, I. 397.

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against Sir T. More he says (1530): 'These things 'to be even so Mr More knoweth well enough: for 'he understandeth the Greek, and he knew them 'long ere I[1].' Again in an earlier work he writes (1528): 'The Greek tongue agreeth more with the 'English than the Latin. And the properties of 'the Hebrew tongue agree a thousand times more 'with the English than the Latin[2].' On the other hand there is nothing to shew that he was thoroughly acquainted with German up to the time when his New Testament was finished, and the testimony of Spalatinus tacitly proves that he was not[3].

Tyndale's Version compared with Vulgate and Luther.

But the translation of the New Testament itself is the complete proof of its own independence. It is impossible to read through a single chapter without gaining the assurance that Tyndale rendered the Greek text directly while still he consulted the Vulgate, the Latin translation of Erasmus, and the German of Luther. Thus taking a chapter at random we find in Eph. iv. the following certain traces of the peculiarities of the Greek

[1] *Answer to Sir T. More*, III. p. 23 (ed. Park. Soc.).

[2] *Obedience of a Christian Man*, I. p. 148. Compare *Answer to More*, p. 75. *Prologue to St Matthew*, I. p. 468.

[3] See above, p. 42, n. 1.

which are lost in the Vulgate and the translations made from it.

2 in...*longsuffering*, *forbearing* one another...cum patientia supportantes...with *patience supporting* each other...(Wycliffe, Rheims).

4 *even* as...sicut...as (Wycliffe, Rheims).

8 *and* hath given...dedit...he gave...(Wycliffe, Rheims).

17 as *other* Gentiles...sicut et...as heathen men (Wycliffe), as *also* the Gentiles (Rheims).

27 *backbiter* ..... *diabolo* ..... *the devil* (Wycliffe, Rheims).

29 *filthy* communication...sermo *malus*...*evil* word (Wycliffe): *naughty* speech (Rheims).

— but that which is good to edify withal *when need is* ... sed si quis bonus ad ædificationem *fidei* ... but if any is good to the edification *of faith* (Wycliffe); but if there be any good to the edifying *of the faith* (Rheims).

And so again Tyndale's rendering of vv. 5, 12, 14, 22 might come from the Greek but hardly from the Latin. On the other hand it is evident that he had the Vulgate before him, and that he owed to it the rendering '*blindness* of their hearts' (cæcitatem), which has wrongly retained its place in the authorised version.

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From Luther the same chapter differs in the entire complexion of the rendering and unequivocally in the interpretation of the following passages:

5 *Let there be but* one Lord ... Ein Herr ....

13 Till we every one, *in the* unity of faith ... grow up unto a perfect man ... bis dass wir alle *hinan kommen zu einerlei* glauben ... *und* ein vollkommener Mann *werden* ...

21 as *the truth is* in Jesus ... wie in Jesu *ein rechtschaffenes Wesen* ist.

24 in *rightcousness and true holiness* ... in *rechtschaffener Gerechtigkeit und Heiligkeit*...

The Vulgate, Luther, Tyndale.

A continuous passage will place the substantial independence of Tyndale in a still clearer light.[1]

Eph. ii. 13—22.

VULGATE.	TYNDALE (1525).	LUTHER.
13 Nunc autem in Christo Jesu vos qui aliquando eratis longe, facti estis prope in sanguine Christi.	13 *But now in Christ Jesus ye* which a while ago *were far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ.*	13 Nun aber die ihr in Christo Jesu seyd und weiland ferne gewesen, seyd nun nahe geworden durch das Blut Christi.
14 Ipse enim est pax nostra, qui	14 *For he is our peace* which *hath*	14 Denn er ist unser Friede, der

[1] The Italics in Tyndale mark what is preserved in the Authorised Version. The only difference which I have observed between the editions of 1525 and 1534 is the omission in the latter of the words *in the midst* in v. 14.

VULGATE.	TYNDALE (1525).	LUTHER.
fecit utraque unum, et medium parietem maceriæ solvens,	*made* of *both one, and hath broken down the wall* in the midst that was a stop *between us*,	aus beiden Eines hat Gemacht, und hat abgebrochen den Zaun der dazwischen war,
15 inimicitias in carne sua,	15 and hath also put away through *his flesh* the cause of hatred, that is to say, *the law of commandments contained in* the law written,	15 in dem dass er durch sein Fleisch wegnahm die Feindschaft; nemlich das Gesetz, so in Geboten gestellet war,
legem mandatorum decretis evacuans,		
16 ut duos condat in semetipso in unum novum hominem, faciens pacem, et reconciliet ambos, in uno corpore Deo per crucem, interficiens inimicitias in semet ipso.	16 *for to make of twain one new man in himself*, so *making peace and* to *reconcile both unto God in one body* through His *cross*, and slew hatred *thereby*.	16 auf dass er aus zweien Einen neuen Menschen in ihm selber schaffte, und Frieden machte, und dass er beide versöhnete mit Gott in Einem Leibe durch das Kreuz, und hat die Feindschaft getödtet durch sich selbst.
17 Et veniens evangelizavit pacem vobis, qui longe fuistis, et pacem iis	17 *And came and preached peace to you which were afar off, and to them*	17 Und ist gekommen, hat verkündiget im Evangelio den Frieden

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VULGATE.	TYNDALE (1525).	LUTHER.
qui prope;	*that were nigh;*	euch die ihr ferne waret, und denen die nahe waren;
18 Quoniam per ipsum habemus accessum ambo in uno Spiritu ad Patrem.	18 *For through him we both have an* open way in *one Spirit unto the Father.*	18 Denn durch ihn haben wir den Zugang alle beide in Einem Geiste zum Vater.
19 Ergo jam non estis hospites et advenæ, sed estis civis sanctorum et domestici Dei,	19 *Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but* citizens *with the saints and of the household of God,*	19 So seyd ihr nun nicht mehr Gäste und Fremdlinge, sondern Bürger mit den Heiligen, und Gottes Hausgenossen;
20 Superædificati super fundamentum Apostolorum et Prophetarum, ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Jesu;	20 *And are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ being the* head *corner-stone.*	20 Erbauet auf den Grund der Apostel und Propheten, da Jesus Christus der Eckstein ist;
21 In quo omnis ædificatio constructa crescit in templum sanctum in Domino,	21 To *whom every building* coupled *together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord,*	21 Auf welchem der ganze Bau in einander gefüget wächset zu einem heiligen Tempel in dem Herrn;
22 in quo et vos coædificamini in	22 *in whom* ye *also are built to-*	22 auf welchem auch ihr mit er-

VULGATE.	TYNDALE (1525).	LUTHER.	CHAP. III. INTERNAL HISTORY.
habitaculum Dei in Spiritu.	*gether*, and made *an habitation* for *God* in *the Spirit.*	bauet werdet zu einer Behausung Gottes im Geiste.	

The relation of Tyndale to Erasmus.

There is, however, one other authority who had greater influence upon Tyndale than the Vulgate or Luther. The Greek text of the New Testament published by Erasmus, which Tyndale necessarily used, was accompanied by an original Latin version in which Erasmus faithfully rendered the text he had printed. This translation is very frequently followed by Tyndale. Thus in the phrases already quoted from Eph. iv.[1] three at least seem to be due to Erasmus. 27 *backbiter*, *calumniatori*, (Erasm.); 29 *filthy* communication, sermo *spurcus* (Erasm.); *id.* where *need is*, quoties *opus est* (Erasm.). But on the other hand, any chapter will shew important differences between Erasmus and Tyndale, not always indeed in Tyndale's favour, but sufficient at least to prove that he exercised a free judgment both in the general character and in the details of his version. A collation of Col. ii offers the following considerable variations:

[1] See p. 175.

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	Erasmus.	Tyndale (1534).
1	*Nam* volo	I would (so Luther)
	quantam *sollicitudinem.*	what *fighting* (*Kampf* L.)
	faciem meam	my *person* (*Person* L.)
2	cum fuerint compacti.	*and* knit together (so L.)
	in omnem opulentiam *certe* [? certæ] *persuasionis intelligentiæ*	in all riches *of full understanding* (zu allem Reichthume des gewissen Verstandes L.)
	et patris (so L.)	the father
6	in eo ambulate *sic ut* radices *habeatis* in illo fixas	so walk rooted and built in him (so wandelt…und seyd gewurzelt L.)
11	*dum* exuistis	*by* putting (*durch* Abl. L.)
	corpus peccatorum carnis	the *sinful body* of the flesh (des sündlichen Leibes im Fleisch L.)
	per circumcisionem Christi (so L.)	through the circumcision *that is in* Christ
12	per fidem operationis Dei	through faith *that is wrought by* the operation of God (durch den Glauben den Gott wirket L.)
13	per delicta et per præputium (in den S. und in der…L.)	*in* sin *through* the uncircumcision (*in* sin *and in* the… 1525)
14	quod erat contrarium nobis *per decreta* (welche durch Satzungen entstand L.)	that was against us *contained in the law written* (*made* in… 1525)
16	*vos judicet*	*trouble your conscience* (euch

Erasmus.	Tyndale (1534).
	Gewissen machen L.)
aut novilunii (so L.)	*as* the holiday of the new moon
17 quæ sunt umbra (so L.)	which are *nothing but* shadows
— corpus autem Christi	but the body is *in* Christ (so L.)
18 ne quis *vobis patronam intervertat data opera per humilitatem et superstitionem angelorum*	Let no man *make you shoot at a wrong mark, which after his own imagination walketh in the humbleness and holiness of angels* (*Lasset euch Niemand das Zeil verrücken*...L.) (om. *and holiness* 1525)
23 *per superstitionem ac humilitatem animi et læsionem corporis, non per honorem aliquem ad expletionem carnis*	*in chosen holiness and humbleness, and in that they spare not the body, and do the flesh no worship unto his need* (so L[1].)

[1] This last verse offers one of the most remarkable coincidences between Luther and Tyndale which I have noted. Luther's version is: durch selbsterwählte Geistlichkeit und Demuth und dadurch dass sie des Leibes nicht verschonen und dem Fleisch nicht seine Ehre thun zu seiner Nothdurft. The version in the Wittenberg Latin Bible is quite different. In a number of passages taken almost at random where Tyndale differs considerably from Luther I have noted that he agrees with Erasmus in Lu. xi. 36, 40; xix. 43. John ii. 9; x. 12. Acts iii. 16. 2 Cor. xi. 8. Gal. v. 18. Eph. v. 16; and differs from Erasmus in Lu. xix. 42. John xi. 2. Acts iii. 20. Rom. ix. 11, 28. Gal. v. 5. Col. iii. 9. Other differences exist between the texts of 1525, 1534 in *vv.* 10, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20. In five places the latter

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Tyndale's edition of 1534 *revised by the Greek.*

It does not seem necessary to bring forward any further evidence of the originality of Tyndale's first labours on the New Testament[1]. The text approaches Luther more nearly than the earlier: in one the converse holds.

[1] It is greatly to be regretted that Mr Fry did not add to his facsimile of the small Testament of 1525 a collation of the Grenville quarto fragment. The conclusion which Mr Anderson draws from the spelling as to the priority of the quarto (I. 70) is hasty and unsatisfactory. The spelling in both editions is very inaccurate. In the Sermon on the Mount I have noted among other variations the following which are more or less characteristic. The differences in text are very slight, and in no one case (except in the misprint vi. 24) does the quarto edition give a reading which has been preserved in the edition of 1534. So far therefore the quarto text seems to have been cursorily revised before it was reprinted at Worms. But a complete collation of the text is desirable.

	1525. Cologne.	1525. Worms.
Matt. v.	1 wen	when
	— mouth	mought
	3 thers	theirs
	4 mourne	morne
	11, 45 evle vii. 11	yvell, vii. 11 evyll
	13 but an yf	but and if
	15 all those	all them (all 1534)
	17 other the prophetts.	or the prophets (so 1534)
	26 vtmoost forthynge	vtmost farthīge
	29 in to	in tho
	39, 42 turne vii. 6	tourne
	40 clooke	cloocke
	44 cursse	coursse
	45 for vi. 2, 7 &c.	ffor
	— oniuste	iniuste
vi.	5 verely	vereley
	7 thinke	thincke
	13 lede	leede
	19 moththes	mothes
	20 to gyddre	togedder

samples given are fair specimens of the whole work. The revised edition expressly claims upon the title-page to be 'diligently corrected and compared with the original Greek.' In the address 'to the Christian Reader,' Tyndale explains his work more in detail. 'Here thou hast, most dear 'reader, the New Testament or Covenant made 'with us of God in Christ's blood, which I have 'looked over again (now at the last) with all dili-'gence and compared it unto the Greek, and have 'weeded out of it many faults which lack of help 'at the beginning and oversight did sow therein. 'If ought seem changed [charged 1536] or not 'altogether agreeing with the Greek, let the finder 'of the fault consider the Hebrew phrase or manner 'of speech left in the Greek words, whose preter-'perfect tense and present tense is often both one, 'and the future tense is the optative mood also,

	1525. Cologne.	1525. Worms.
vi.	20 ner yet moththes corrupte	nor mothes corupe (*om. yet* 1534)
	21 hertts(so ypocrytts,&c.)	hertes
	23 boddy	body
	24 lene to the (so 1534)	lene the
	— that other	the other (so 1534)
	26 nether	neder
	— thē (them)	then
	27 thought	tought
vii.	2 with that same	with the same (so 1534)
	6 pierles	pearles.

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'and the future tense is often the imperative mood 'in the active voice, and in the passive ever. Like-'wise person for person, number for number, and 'an interrogation for a conditional, and such like, 'is with the Hebrews a common usage. I have 'also in many places set light in the margin to 'understand the text by. If any man find faults 'either with the translation or ought beside, which 'is easier for many to do than so well to have 'translated it themselves of their own pregnant 'wits at the beginning without forensample, to the 'same it shall be lawful to translate it themselves 'and to put what they lust thereto. If I shall 'perceive, either by myself or by the information 'of other, that ought be escaped me, or might be 'more plainly translated, I will shortly after cause 'it to be mended. Howbeit in many places me-'thinketh it better to put a declaration in the 'margin than to run too far from the text. And 'in many places where the text seemeth at the 'first chop hard to be understood, yet the circum-'stances before and after and often reading to-'gether maketh it plain enough...'

Comparison of the editions of 1525, 1534.

A comparison of the texts of the first and second editions fully bears out the description which Tyndale here gives of his work. To take

one example only: of the thirty-one changes which I have noticed in the later version of 1 John, about a third are closer approximations to the Greek: rather more are variations in connecting particles or the like designed to bring out the argument of the original more clearly; three new readings are adopted; and in one passage it appears that Luther's rendering has been substituted for an awkward paraphrase. Yet it must be remarked that even in this revision the changes are far more frequently at variance with Luther's renderings than in accordance with them[1].

The Glosses of the edition of 1534.

The importance of the New Testament of 1534, which is altogether Tyndale's noblest monument, gives a peculiar interest to the short glosses with which it is furnished. Though these do not throw much light upon the translation itself, yet they give such a lively image of the character of Tyndale that a few specimens of them cannot be out of place even in a history of the text[2]. Generally they are pregnant and pithy comments on the passage with which they deal, designed to guide the reader to its spirit, and Bengel himself is not

[1] These variations are given in detail in App. III.

[2] It is difficult to say why these marginal glosses and those on the Pentateuch were not included in the collected edition of Tyndale's works. Nothing that he has written is more characteristic.

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more terse or pointed. Such for example are the following[1]:

Matt. xvi. 21. 'When ought is said or done that should move 'to pride, he dasheth them in the teeth with his 'death and passion.

Mark iv. 24. 'A covenant to them that love the word of God, 'to win other with word and deed; and another to 'them that love it not, that it shall be their de-'struction.

Rom. v. 15. 'Adam's disobedience damned us all ere we 'ourselves wrought evil; and Christ's obedience 'saveth us all ere we ourselves work any good.

Rom. viii. 28. 'God chooseth of his own goodness and mercy: 'calleth through the Gospel: justifieth through 'faith: glorifieth through good works.

1 Cor. vii. 26. 'If a man have the gift, chastity is good, the 'more quietly to serve God; for the married have 'oft much trouble; but if the mind of the chaste 'be cumbered with other worldly business, what 'helpeth it? and if the married be the more quick-'minded thereby, what hurteth it? Neither of 'itself is better than the other. Neither is outward

[1] I have made no attempt to conceal what appear to me to be errors in Tyndale's teaching. The passages quoted fairly reflect his whole style. Those who take account of the circumstances under which he had to work will not pass a severe judgment on unguarded or one-sided statements.

'circumcision or outward baptism worth a pin of 'themselves, save that they put us in remembrance 'to keep the covenant made between us and God.

'Faith maketh us sons and of the nature of 'Christ, and bindeth each to have other in the same 'reverence that he hath Christ. *Galat. iii.* 26.

'Where true faith in Christ is, there is love to 'the neighbour; and faith and love maketh us 'understand all things. Faith understandeth the 'secrets of God and the mercy that is given her in 'Christ. And love knoweth her duty to her neigh- 'bour, and can interpret all laws and ordinances, 'and knoweth how far forth they are to be kept 'and when to be dispensed with. *Eph. iii.* 17.

'By our works shall we be judged, for as the 'invisible faith is, such are the works by which faith 'is seen. 1 *Pet. i.* 17.

'We be the Church; and the obedience of the 'heart is the spiritual sacrifice. Bodily sacrifice 'must be offered to our neighbours, for if thou 'offerest it to God, thou makest a bodily idol of him. 1 *Pet. ii.* 5.

'Now if any man that is not merciful believeth 'to have mercy of God he deceiveth himself; be- 'cause he hath no God's word for him. For God's 'promise pertaineth to the merciful only; and true 'faith therefore is known by her deeds. *James ii.* 17.

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'Angel is a Greek word, and signifieth a mes-
'senger; and all the angels are called messengers
'because they are sent so oft from God to man on
Rev. vii. 1. 'message. Even so prophets, preachers, and the
'prelates of the Church are called angels, that is to
'say, messengers, because their office is to bring
'the message of God unto the people. The good
'angels here in this book are the true bishops and
'preachers, and the evil angels are the heretics and
'false preachers which ever falsify God's word, with
'which the church of Christ shall be thus miserably
'plagued unto the end of the world, as is painted in
'these figures.'

In other places Tyndale calls attention emphatically to the substance of a text, often by a single word, and again by a brief note, as:

Matt. xi. 27. 'God is not known as a Father but through
'Christ.

Acts vii. 48. 'God dwelleth not in temples or churches made with hands.

Acts xiv. 23. 'Prayer and fasting go together.

Acts xvii. 11. 'Search the Scriptures, for by them may ye try
'all doctrine.

Rom. i. 32. 'To have pleasure in another man's sin is
'greater wickedness than to sin thyself.

Rom. vi. 23. 'Eternal life is the serving of Christ.

'He is strong that can bear another man's weak-
'ness.' *Rom. xv.* 2.

Sometimes, though rarely, the gloss is simply explanatory:

'Love is the sign that the sins are forgiven her. *Luke vii.* 47.

'This John is the same Mark that writ the *Acts xii.* 12.
'Gospel of Mark.

'These silverlings, which we now and then call *Acts xix.* 19.
'pence, the Jews call sicles, and are worth a ten-
'pence sterling.

'This [means] thou shalt kindle him and make *Rom. xii.* 20.
'him to love.

'Bishops and elders is all one, and an officer *Tit. i.* 7.
'chosen to govern the congregation in doctrine and
'living.'

In a very few cases the gloss takes a polemical character, but still without bitterness:

'Go not from house to house as friars (frerers) do. *Luke ix.* 4.

'To speak with tongues or with the spirit is to 1 *Cor. xiv.* 16.
'speak that other understandeth not, as priests say
'their service.

'A good lesson for monks and idle friars.' 1 *Thess. iv.* 11.

In one passage only I have noticed a mystical interpretation which is foreign to the general complexion of Tyndale's notes[1]:

[1] It is right to add that I have not examined whether the glosses are suggested by any earlier commentaries.

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'Night: when the true knowledge of Christ, how 'he only justifieth, is lost. Then can no man work 'a good work in the sight of God, how glorious 'soever his works appear.'

John ix. 4.

The edition of 1535 *again revised from the Greek.*

In his Preface to the edition of 1534, Tyndale had expressed his readiness to revise his work and adopt any changes in it which might be shewn to be improvements. The edition of 1535, however enigmatic it may be in other respects, is a proof of his sincerity. The text of this exhibits a true revision and differs from that of 1534, though considerably less than the text of 1534 from that of 1525[1]. Sometimes the changes are made to secure a closer accordance with the Greek[2]: sometimes to gain a more vigorous or a more idiomatic

[1] In 1 John I have noted sixteen variations from the text of 1534 as against thirty-two in that of 1534 from the original text. From the great inaccuracy of the edition of 1535 it is often difficult to decide what are printers' errors and what intentional changes. The changes in the Gospels and Acts are (if I may trust a very limited collation) fewer than those in the Epistles. The variations in 1 John are given at length in App. III.

In the different Epistles the number of variations is considerable. In the Epistle to the Ephesians, neglecting undoubted misprints, I have noted only the following: i. 1 Jesu (Jesus); 20 *the dead* (*death*). ii. 1 you hath he quickened (hath qu. you); iii. 11 purposed *to* (p. *in*); iv. 11 *and* some teachers (om.); iv. 16 of *him*selt (*it*self); vi. 20 messenger (*a* m.). Compare p. 233, n. 1.

[2] Matt. vi. 34 om. *for*. Mark xvi. 19 *sate him* down (for *is set* down). 1 Cor. xv. 10 add *yet*. Eph. iv. 11 add *and* some teachers.

rendering[1]: sometimes to preserve a just uniformity: sometimes to introduce a new interpretation[2]. The very minuteness of the changes is a singular testimony to the diligence with which Tyndale still laboured at his appointed work. Nothing seemed trifling to him, we may believe, if only he could better seize or convey to others the meaning of one fragment of Scripture.

This edition again without notes.

Tyndale's first Testament was without notes: so too was his last. The short Prologues to the four Evangelists are printed separately before each Gospel. The contents of the tables for the Gospels and the Acts are prefixed in detail before each chapter. The marginal references of the edition of 1534 are generally preserved. But with these exceptions the simple text of the New Testament is given without any addition except the list of books on the reverse of the title-page, and the Epistles from the Old Testament at the end[3].

[1] Mark xvi. 11 *though* they heard—*yet* they believed it not (for *when* they heard—they believed it not). Rom. xii. 13 *be ready* to harbour (for *diligently* to harbour). 2 Cor. vi. 18 be *my* sons (for be *unto me* sons).

[2] Eph. iv. 16 the edifying of *himself* (for the edifying of *itself*).

[3] A duplicate of the tables for the Gospels and Acts printed with another list of books on a page of a different size (36 not 38 lines) stands at the beginning of the volume. This is followed by the Prologue to the Romans, printed again in a different sized page (37 lines). But there is nothing to shew that these were

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Thus Tyndale ended as he had begun. His last Testament was a final appeal to the King and to the English people. If the text could gain currency it was enough, as he had repeatedly declared[1].

The influence of Luther on Tyndale's own writings.

Tyndale, as we have seen, both in his first translation and in his two subsequent revisions of the New Testament, dealt directly and principally with the Greek text. If he used the Vulgate or Erasmus or Luther it was with the judgment of a scholar. His complete independence in this respect is the more remarkable from the profound influence which Luther exerted upon his writings generally. The extent to which Tyndale silently incorporated free or even verbal translations of passages from Luther's works in his own has escaped the notice of his editors. To define it accurately would be a work of very great labour, but the result, as exhibiting the points of contact and divergence in the opinions of the two great reformers, would be

originally intended to form part of the same book. They are severally contained in separate sheets with distinct signatures. The watermarks of the paper, as far as I can make out, are distinct, and the type in which the Prologue is printed does not appear to me to range with that used in the body of the book, though extremely like it. Moreover, and this is most worthy of notice, the orthography of the two preliminary pieces presents none of the marked peculiarities by which the translation itself is generally characterized. Even 'called' and 'Holy' are spelt according to common usage.

[1] See above, p. 67.

a most instructive passage in the doctrinal history of the time. Tyndale's 'Prologue' to his quarto Testament, his first known writing, almost at the beginning introduces a large fragment from Luther's Preface to the New Testament. There is indeed a ring in the opening words which might have led any one familiar with Luther's style to suspect their real source. 'Evangelion (that we call 'Gospel) is a Greek word; and signifieth good, 'merry, glad and joyful tidings, that maketh a 'man's heart glad and maketh him sing, dance 'and leap for joy: as when David had killed 'Goliah the giant, came glad tidings to the Jews 'that their fearful and cruel enemy was slain and 'they delivered out of all danger; for gladness 'whereof they sung, danced and were joyful[1].'

Prologue to the New Testament.

[1] Luther: Evangelium ist ein Griechisch Wort und heisset auf Deutsch gute Botschaft, gute Mähre, gute neue Zeitung, gut Geschrey, davon man singet, saget und frölich ist. Als da David den grossen Goliath überwand, kam ein gut Geschrey und tröstliche neue Zeitung unter das Jüdische Volk, dass ihr greulicher Feind erschlagen und sie erlöset zu Freude und Friede gestellet wären, *davon sie sungen und sprungen und fröhlich waren.* The Latin translation of the passage in the Wittenberg Bible may be added: Est enim Evangelium Græca vox. Significans *bonum seu lætum nuntium* et tale quidem quod summa omnium gratulatione accipitur atque prædicatur, *Unde voluptas et lætitia in hominum animis excitatur.* Nam quemadmodum cum David magnum illum gigantem Goliath vicerat, lætum nuntium ad populum Judaicum perferebatur, crudelissimo ipsorum hoste occiso, a quo cum essent liberati nullo non genere lætitiæ atque gaudii

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Prologue to the Romans.

The famous Prologue to the Romans (1526) is, as is well known, for the most part a paraphrase or a translation of Luther's Preface. Like the Preface to the New Testament this writing of Luther's also had been translated into Latin (1523), and Tyndale's version seems at one time to follow the German and at another time the Latin text. Some phrases, as 'every Christian man must exercise himself therein [the Epistle to the Romans] *as with* '*the daily bread of the soul*'[1],' and 'God judgeth *after* '*the ground of the heart*.....therefore *his* law *re*-'*quireth the ground of the heart* and love from the 'bottom thereof, and is not content with the outward work only, but *rebuketh those works* most 'of all *which spring not* of love *from the ground* 'and low bottom *of the heart*...[2]:' shew clearly

perfundebantur. The passages italicized mark apparently special coincidences with Tyndale's rendering.

The translation of Luther extends from 'the Old Testament is a book—shall never more die.' (pp. 8—10, ed. P. S.).

[1] p. 484 (ed. P. S.). Dass ein Christenmensch...damit umgehe als mit täglichen Brod der Seele. The Latin has nothing which exactly corresponds.

[2] p. 485 (ed. P. S.). Gott richtet nach des Herzens Grund. Darum fordert auch sein Gesetz des Her zens Grund, und lässet ihm au Werken nicht begnügen; sondern strafet vielmehr die Werke ohere Herzens Grund gethan...The Latin runs: Deus vero cum sit Cardiognostes judicat secundum internos motus cordis; proinde et lex Dei requirit cor et affectus, neque impletur externis operibus, nisi hilari corde et toto affectu fiant.

that Tyndale could not have been unacquainted with the German; and on the other hand the general complexion of the Prologue is more like the Latin translation than the German original, and many parts are unequivocally derived from it. Thus the clauses 'thou understandest not ... how '*that it* [the *law*] *cannot be fulfilled and satisfied but* '*with an unfeigned love and affection, much less can* '*it be fulfilled with outward deeds and works only*[1]' ... : and again, 'if the Law were fleshly *and but of* '*man's doctrine* it might be fulfilled ... with outward 'deeds[2];' and, once more, 'Such a new heart and *lusty* '*courage* unto the law-ward canst thou never come 'by *of thine own strength* and enforcement, *but by* '*the operation and working of the Spirit*[3]:' have nothing which directly corresponds with them in the German. Similar instances might be multiplied indefinitely, but the conclusion even from these seems to be inevitable that Tyndale used the Latin

[1] p. 486. ...quomodo non nisi affectu [lex] impleatur ipsemet non satis tenes. Tantum autem abest ut lex externis operibus impleatur aut justificet ut etiam... For this there is nothing in the German.

[2] *Id.* Si lex esset carnalis *aut moralis doctrina tantum*...Wenn das Gesetz leiblich wäre...

[3] p. 487. Talem vero novum et *ardentem ac hilarem cordis affectum* non *ex tuis ullis viribus* aut meritis, *sed* sola *operatione et afflatu spiritus* consequere. For this the German has simply Ein solches Herz giebt niemand denn Gottes Geist...

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by preference while he was able also to avail himself of the German.

Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount.

The coincidences between Tyndale's Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount and that of Luther, though fewer, are even more worthy of notice. Luther's Expository Sermons were delivered in 1530, and printed in 1532, but they were not translated into Latin till 1533. On the other hand Tyndale's Exposition was printed in 1532. He must then have used the German edition of Luther, or perhaps even notes taken by some friend or by himself. The coincidences which are comparatively rare are still verbal and at the same time tacit. Two examples will be sufficient to indicate their character.

Matt. v. 4.

Gerechtikeit muss an diesem Ort nicht heissen die Christliche Häuptgerechtigkeit dadurch die Person frumm und angenehm wird fur Gott. Den ich habe vor gesagt dass diese acht Stuck nichts anders sind denn eine Lehre von den Früchten und guten Wirken eines Christen vor welchem der Glaube zuvor muss da sein als der	Righteousness in this place is not taken for the principal righteousness of a Christian man, through which the person is good and accepted before God. For these eight points are but doctrine of the fruits and works of a Christian man before which the faith must

Baum und Häuptstuck ... daraus solche Stuck alle wachsen und folgen mussen. Darumb verstehe hie die aüsserlich Gerechtigkeit fur der Welt, so wir unter uns gegen ander halten...

be there, and as a tree out of which all such fruits and works must spring.

Wherefore understand here the outward righteousness before the world and true and faithful dealing each with other...

Wie er ihr Almosen und Beten gestraft hat so strafet er auch Fasten...wie sie des Almosen...missbraucht haben...also haben sie auch des Fasten missbrauchet und verkehret, reicht fur ihren Leib im Zwang und Zucht zu halten...sondern von den Leuten gesehen zu werden ...dass man sich wundern und sagen müsste : O das sind treffliche Heiligen, die da...gehen in grauen Röcken, den kopf hängen, saur und bleich sehen &c. Wenn die nicht gen Himmel kommen, wo wollen wir andern bleiben?

As above of alms and prayer, even so here Christ rebuketh the false intent and hypocrisy of fasting, that they sought praise of that work that was ordained for to tame the flesh and used such fashions that all the world might know that they fasted to praise them and to say

Matt. vi. 18.

O what holy men are these; how pale and pitiful look they even like death, hanging down their heads ...If these come not to heaven, what shall become of us poor wretches of the world?

But it is in the shorter Prologues to the several books of the New Testament first published in 1534 that the character of the dependence of Tyn-

Short Prologues to the Books of the New Testament.

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dale on Luther is best seen. Luther has no special Prologues to the Gospels; but Tyndale at the close of his Prologue to S. Matthew, which is an extensive essay, reproduces in a modified form Luther's famous judgment on the relative worth of the apostolic books in his Preface to the New Testament: '...Paul's Epistles with the Gospel of 'John and his first Epistle, and the first Epistle of 'St Peter, are most pure Gospel and most plainly 'and richly describe the glory of the grace of 'Christ[1].' Tyndale on the other hand has no Preface to the Acts or to the Apocalypse; while Luther has to both. With these exceptions all Tyndale's Prologues correspond generally in character and form with Luther's, and every one besides that to 1 Corinthians is framed out of or with reference to them. And further, as these short Prologues were not included in the Witten-

[1] p. 477 (ed. P. S.). With this Luther's original judgment may be compared: Summa St. Johannis Evangelium und seine erste Epistel, St. Pauli Episteln, sonderlich die zu den Römern, Galatern, Ephesern, und St. Peter's erste Epistel, das sind die Bücher, die dir Christum zeigen und alles lehren, das dir zu wissen noth und selig ist, ob du schon kein ander Buch noch Lehre nimmermehr sehest noch hörest. Darum ist St. Jacob's Epistel eine recht ströherne Epistel gegen sie, denn sie doch keine Evangelische Art an ihr hat. The wisdom with which Tyndale avoids the bold negativism of Luther is most worthy of notice.

berg Bible, nor, as far as it appears, separately translated, it follows that Tyndale must have become thoroughly familiar with German during his long residence at Marburg, if he was not so before.

The Prologues in detail.

As the Prologues are interesting on every account it will be worth while to draw out a little more in detail the coincidences and differences thus generally described. The Prologues to 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1, 2 Thessalonians, 1, 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon 1, 2 Peter, 1, 2, 3 John, are almost entirely taken from Luther, but in nearly all cases in a compressed form. That to the Galatians incorporates a large piece of Luther's, but is fuller. Those to St James and St Jude are independent in treatment and conclusion, but distinctly traceable to Luther's. That to the Hebrews is a sustained argument against Luther.

Differences between Luther and Tyndale.

The changes are in all cases worthy of notice. One of the omissions at least is strikingly significant. In the Preface to Philemon Luther has a startling allegorical application of the circumstances to the history of the Redemption. 'Even 'as Christ has dealt for us with GOD, so St Paul deals for Onesimus with Philemon. For Christ, 'emptied Himself of His right and overcame the

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'Father with love and meekness, so that He must 'lay aside His wrath and right, and receive us to 'favour, for Christ's sake, who thus earnestly inter-'cedes for us and takes us to Him so tenderly. 'For we are all His Onesimuses if we only believe 'it.' Of this characteristic passage there is no trace in Tyndale. In other places Tyndale omits the temporal applications with which Luther delighted to animate his teaching[1] and tempers the peremptoriness of his exposition by a fuller reference to the text itself. Two examples will be sufficient to make his general method clear.

Prol. to 2 Thess.

Im andern lehret er wie vor dem jüngsten Tage das Römische Reich zuvor muss untergehen,

und der Endechrist sich für Gott aufwerfen in der Christenheit, und mit falschen Lehren und Zeichen die ungläubige Welt verführen,

In the second he sheweth that the last day should not come *till there were first a departing, as some men think, from under the obedience of the emperor of Rome:* and that Antichrist should set up himself in the same place as God, and deceive the unthankful world with false doctrine, and with false and lying miracles, *wrought by the working of Satan,*

[1] Luther's Preface to 1 Corinthians is full of special applications to the time, and this fact probably accounts for Tyndale's independence.

bis dass Christus komme, und verstöre ihn durch seine herrliche Zukunft und mit einer geistlichen Predigt zuvor tödte.

Im dritten thut er etliche Ermahnungen und sonderlich dass sie die müssigen, die sich nicht mit eigener Hand ernähren, strafen, und wo sie sich nicht bessern, meiden sollen; *welches gar hart wider den jetzigen geistlichen Stand lautet.*

Summa, das 1. Capitel zeiget wie die Christenheit stehen sollte zur Zeit des reinen Evangelii. Das 2. Capitel zeiget wie sie zur Zeit des Pabsts und Menschenlehre stehen würde. Das 3. *wie hernach die Leute beyde, Evangelium und alle Lehre, verachten und nichts glauben werden. Und das gehet jetzt in vollem Schwange, bis Christus kommt.*

until Christ should come and slay him with his glorious coming and spiritual preaching of the Word of God.

In the third he giveth them exhortation and warneth them to rebuke the idle, that would not labour with their hands and avoid their company if they would not amend[1].

Finally, the first chapter sheweth how it should go in the time of the pure and true Gospel: the second, how it should go in the time of the Pope and men's doctrine: the third, *how at the last men should believe nothing nor fear* God *at all*[2].

Tyndale's independence is however best seen in his treatment of the disputed books which Luther

Tyndale's judgment on the disputed Books.

[1] Prologue to 2 Thessalonians.

[2] Prologue to 2 Peter.

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placed in a second rank. His Prologue to the Hebrews is a careful examination of the arguments which Luther urged against its apostolic authority, and while he leaves its authorship uncertain and will not 'think it to be an article of any man's 'faith,' yet he decides 'that this epistle ought no 'more to be refused for a holy godly and catholic 'than the other authentic scriptures.' He even uses Luther's image but to a different end:

Hebrews.

Ob er (the author) wol nicht den Grund leget des Glaubens, wie er selbst zeuget ... so bauet er doch fein drauf, Gold, Silber, Edelsteine ... Derhalben uns nicht hindern soll, *ob vielleicht etwa Holz Stroh oder Heu mit untergemenget werde*, sondern solche feine Lehre mit allen Ehren aufnehmen; ohne dass man sie den apostolischen Episteln nicht allerdinge gleichen mag.	And now therefore though this Epistle ... lay not the ground of the faith of Christ, yet buildeth it cunningly thereon pure gold, silver, and precious stones .... And seeing the Epistle agreeth to all the rest of the Scripture (if it be indifferently looked to), why should it not be authority and taken for Holy Scripture?

St James. St Jude.

The Epistles of St James and St Jude are dealt with in the same manner and with the same result. Of the former, Tyndale writes: 'Though 'this Epistle were refused in the old time and

'denied of many to be the Epistle of a very Apo-
'stle, and though also it lay not the foundation of
'the faith of Christ...yet because it setteth up no
'man's doctrine ... and hath also nothing that is
'not agreeable to the rest of the Scriptures, if it be
'looked indifferently on, methinketh it ought of
'right to be taken for Holy Scripture[1].' Of the latter: 'As for the Epistle of Judas and though
'men have and yet do doubt of the author, and
'though it seem also to be drawn out of the second
'epistle of St Peter, and thereto allegeth Scripture
'that is nowhere found; yet seeing the matter is so
'godly and agreeing to other places of Holy Scrip-
'ture, I see not but that it ought to have the au-
'thority of Holy Scripture[2].'

The standard which Tyndale sets up may

[1] Luther writes thus: Diese Epistel St Jacobi, wiewol sie von den Alten verworfen ist, lobe ich und halte sie doch für gut, darum dass sie gar keine Menschenlehre setzet und Gottes Gesetz hart treibet. Aber dass ich meine Meynung darauf Stelle, doch ohne jedermanns Nachtheil, achte ich sie für keines Apostels Schrift...Darum kann ich ihn nicht unter die rechten Hauptbücher setzen; will aber damit niemand wehren, dass er ihn setzè und hebe wie es ihn gelüstet: denn viel guter Sprüche sonst darinne sind.

[2] Luther: Die Epistel aber St Judä kann niemand leugnen dass sie ein Auszug oder Abschrift ist St Peter's andern Epistel...und führet auch Sprüche und Geschichte die in der Schrift nirgend stehen...Darum ob ich sie wol preise, so ists doch eine unnöthige Epistel unter die Hauptbücher zu rechnen die des Glaubens Grund legen sollen.

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be a precarious one, but yet it differs widely from the bold subjectivity of Luther, which practically leaves no basis for the Canon but the judgment of the individual reader.

Tyndale's independence in the Old Testament.

No one who has followed thus far Tyndale's mode of dealing with the New Testament can doubt that in the Old Testament he would look first to the Hebrew text, 'which,' he writes, 'is 'most of need to be known[1];' and a crucial test at once offers itself. An appendix to his New Testament of 1534 contains, as we have seen, 'The 'Epistles from the Old Testament according to the 'use of Salisbury.' Among these are passages from books which he had not published at that time, even if he had translated them, and from others which he certainly never translated. In the service-books they were of course given in Latin, and it would be most obvious, therefore, to turn them from the Vulgate text. If however in this case Tyndale took the Hebrew as his basis, and not the Latin, and still less Luther, we may be sure that he followed the like course in his continuous translations. And so it is: though he keeps the explanatory words which in some cases introduce or round off the lesson, yet the lesson

[1] *Answer to More*, II. 75.

itself is rendered from the original Hebrew. Two examples will be sufficient to make it plain that it is so. In a very simple passage, 1 Kings xvii. 17ff. the following variations occur where Tyndale strives to keep close to the Hebrew against the Vulgate:

18 my *sin*...	*iniquitates meæ*...
19 *he*...	*Elias*...
a high chamber...	*cænaculum*
21 *he measured* the child...	*expandit se atque mensus est* super puerum...

A single verse from Isaiah offers, as might be expected, a more conclusive proof of the independence of Tyndale:

My righteousness is nigh, and my salvation shall go out, and mine arm shall judge nations, and islands shall look for me, and shall tarry after mine arm.	Prope est justus meus, egressus est salvator meus, et brachia mea populos judicabunt: me insulæ expectabunt, et brachium meum sustinebunt.

Is. li. 5.

The variations from Luther are nearly as numerous, and still there are indications that Tyndale was acquainted with Luther's translation as he was with the Vulgate.

One continuous passage may be added as a better sample of Tyndale's work, taken from his

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published Pentateuch. The relation in which it stands to the Vulgate and Luther is, as will be seen, the same as before[1]:

Num. xvi. 28 ff.

VULGATE.	TYNDALE.	LUTHER.
28 Et ait Moyses: In hoc scietis, quod Dominus miserit me ut facerem universa quæ cernitis, et non ex proprio ea corde protulerim:	28 *And Moses said: Hereby* ye shall *know that the Lord hath sent me to do all these works*, and that *I have not done them of mine own mind.*	28 Und Mose sprach: Dabey sollt ihr merken, dass mich der Herr gesandt hat, dass ich alle diese Werke thäte, und nicht aus meinem Herzen.
29 Si consueta hominum morte interierint, et visitaverit eos plaga, qua et ceteri visitari solent, non misit me Dominus:	29 *If these men die the common death of all men, or if they be visited after the visitation of all men, then the Lord hath not sent me.*	29 Werden sie sterben, wie alle Menschen sterben, oder heimgesucht, wie alle Menschen heimgesucht werden; so hat mich der Herr nicht gesandt.
30 Sin autem novam rem fecerit Dominus, ut aperiens terra os suum deglutiat eos et omnia quæ ad illos	30 *But*, and *if the Lord make a new thing, and the earth open her mouth, and swallow them*, and *all*	30 Wird aber der Herr etwas neues schaffen, dass die Erde ihren Mund aufthut, und verschlinget sie mit

[1] The Italics in Tyndale mark what is preserved still in A. V.

VULGATE.	TYNDALE.	LUTHER.
pertinent, descenderintque viventes in infernum, scietis quod blasphemaverint Dominum.	*that* pertain *unto them*, so that *they go down quick into* hell, *then ye shall understand that these men have* railed upon *the Lord.*	allem, das sie haben, dass sie lebendig hinunter in die Hölle fahren; so werdet ihr erkennen, dass diese Leute den Herrn gelästert haben.
31 Confestim igitur ut cessavit loqui, dirupta est terra sub pedibus eorum:	31 *And* as soon *as he had made an end of speaking all these words, the ground* clove *asunder that was under them,*	31 Und als er diese Worte hatte alle ausgeredet, zerriss die Erde unter ihnen.
32 Et aperiens os suum, devoravit illos cum tabernaculis suis et universa substantia eorum;	32 *And the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them, and their houses, and all the men that* were with *Corah and all their goods.*	32 Und that ihren Mund auf, und verschlang sie, mit ihren Häusern, mit allen Menschen, die bey Korah waren, und mit aller ihrer Habe.
33 Descenderuntque vivi in infernum operti humo, et perierunt de medio multitudinis.	33 And *they and all that pertained* unto *them, went down alive* unto hell, *and the earth closed upon them, and they perished*	33 Und fuhren hinunter lebendig in die Hölle, mit allem, das sie hatten, und die Erde deckte sie zu, und kamen um aus der

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VULGATE.	TYNDALE.	LUTHER.
	from among the congregation.	Gemeine.
34 At vero omnis Israel, qui stabat per gyrum, fugit ad clamorem pereuntium, dicens: Ne forte et nos terra deglutiat.	34 *And all Israel that were about them fled at the cry of them: For they said, The earth* might haply *swallow us also.*	34 Und ganz Israel, das um sie her war, floh vor ihrem Geschrey; denn sie sprachen, dass uns die Erde nicht auch verschlinge.
35 Sed et ignis egressus a Domino interfecit ducentos quinquaginta viros, qui offerebant incensum.	35 *And there came out a fire from the Lord and consumed the two hundred and fifty men that offered* cens.	35 Dazu fuhr das Feuer aus von dem Herrn, und frass die zwey hundert und funfzig Männer, die das Räuchwerk opferten.

Revision of Old Testament.

In his version of the New Testament we have seen that Tyndale willingly faced the labour of minute correction. The texts of 1525, 1534 and 1535 are specifically distinct, and each later edition offers a careful revision of that which preceded it. Though the evidence is less extensive in the case of the Old Testament, it is evident that he expended no less pains upon this. The texts of 'the 'Epistles from the Old Testament' appended to the New Testaments of 1534 and 1535 differ in small details from the published Pentateuch of

1531[1]; and, what is still more interesting, from one another[2]. Thus in these, as in the New Testaments themselves, there is a double revision; and there is nothing to shew that Tyndale bestowed less care upon the lessons from the Apocrypha than on those from the Canonical books[3];

Tyndale's influence in our English Bible.

This patience of laborious emendation completes the picture of the great translator. In the

[1] I regret that I have been unable to collate the text of the Pentateuch of 1531 with that of the 'corrected' Pentateuch of 1534. The Bristol Museum has only one edition, and not two, as stated in Anderson's list: cf. p. 270.

In Gen. xxxvii. 6—9, the following variations occur between the 'Epistle' and the first Pentateuch:

Pent. 1531.	New Test. 1534.
this dream *which* I *have* dreamed	*a* dream *that* I dreamed
making sheaves	making *of* sheaves
lo!	see!
yours—to	*your sheaves—unto*
because of—of	*for—for*
saying	*and he said*
I *have had one* dream *more.*	I *dreamed yet another* dream.

[2] For example, in Is. liii. 6, went astray (1534): went *all of us* astray (1535): 8, *when* he *is* taken (1534): *though* he *be* taken (1535): 12, of the *rich* (1534): of the *mighty* (1535).

The last Epistle (for St Catharine's day) is wrongly given in 1534, Ecclus. li. 9—12. The right lesson is substituted in 1535, Ecclus. li. 1—8.

Two most surprising misprints of 1534 are also corrected in 1535: Gen. xxxvii. 20, *a sand* pit (some pit 1535). Is. liii. came up as a *sparowe* (as a *spray* 1535).

[3] For example in Ecclus. xxiv. 17—22 the following corrections occur: 18 of *greatness and* of holy hope (1534): of *knowledge* of holy hope (1535): 20 than honey or honey-comb (1534): than honey *and mine inheritance passeth honey* or honey-comb (1535).

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conception and style of his renderings he had nothing to modify or amend. Throughout all his revisions he preserved intact the characteristics of his first work. Before he began he had prepared himself for a task of which he could apprehend the full difficulty. He had rightly measured the momentous issues of a vernacular version of the Holy Scriptures, and determined once for all the principles on which it must be made. His later efforts were directed simply to the nearer attainment of his ideal. To gain this end he availed himself of the best help which lay within his reach, but he used it as a master and not as a disciple. In this work alone he felt that substantial independence was essential to success. In exposition or exhortation he might borrow freely the language or the thought which seemed suited to his purpose, but in rendering the sacred text he remained throughout faithful to the instincts of a scholar. From first to last his style and his interpretation are his own, and in the originality of Tyndale is included in a large measure the originality of our English Version. For not only did Tyndale contribute to it directly the substantial basis of half of the Old Testament (in all probability) and of the whole of the New, but he established a stand-

ard of Biblical translation which others followed. It is even of less moment that by far the greater part of his translation remains intact in our present Bibles[1], than that his spirit animates the whole. He toiled faithfully himself, and where he failed he left to those who should come after the secret of success. The achievement was not for one but for many; but he fixed the type according to which the later labourers worked. His influence decided that our Bible should be popular and not literary, speaking in a simple dialect, and that so by its simplicity it should be endowed with permanence. He felt by a happy instinct the potential affinity between Hebrew and English idioms, and enriched our language and thought for ever with the characteristics of the Semitic mind[2].

[1] To take two examples: about nine-tenths of the authorised version of the first Epistle of St. John, and five-sixths of the Epistle to the Ephesians (which is extremely difficult) are retained from Tyndale.

[2] The order of the Books in Tyndale's N. T. is worth recording:—

The four Gospels
Acts
Thirteen Epistles of St Paul (Romans—Philemon)
1. 2 Peter
1. 2. 3 John
Hebrews
James
Jude
Revelation

This order exactly coincides with that in Luther's Translation.

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§ 2. Coverdale.

Coverdale's Bible a secondary translation.

The contrast between Tyndale and Coverdale has been already pointed out; and in spite of all that has been written to the contrary it is impossible to grant to Coverdale's Bible a place among independent translations. In fact Coverdale distinctly disavows the claim for himself. 'I have,' he writes to the king in his dedication, 'with a clear conscience purely and faithfully translated this out of 'five sundry interpreters, having only the manifest 'truth of the Scripture before mine eyes...[1]' 'To 'help me herein,' he informs 'the Christian reader,' 'I have had sundry translations, not only in Latin 'but also of the Dutch [German] interpreters, 'whom, because of their singular gifts and special 'diligence in the Bible, I have been the more glad 'to follow for the most part, according as I was 'required[2].' 'Lowly and faithfully,' he adds, 'have 'I followed mine interpreters and that under correction[3].' And so it was that the title-page of his Bible which was printed with it described it as 'faithfully translated out of Latin and Dutch[4].'

Its sources.

Nothing, it might be supposed, could be more

[1] *Remains*, p. 11.
[2] *Id.* p. 12.
[3] *Id.* p. 14.
[4] See pp. 73, 74.

explicit or intelligible or consistent with Coverdale's aims; but his critics have been importunately eager to exalt his scholarship at the cost of his honesty. If the title-page, said one who had not seen it, runs so, 'it contains a very great 'misrepresentation[1].' To another the notice appears to be a piece of advertising tact. Expediency, a third supposes, led Coverdale to underrate his labours. And yet it may be readily shewn that the words are simply and literally true. Coverdale certainly had some knowledge of Hebrew[2] by which he was guided at times in selecting his rendering; but in the main his version is based on the Swiss-German version of Zwingli and Leo

[1] Whittaker, *Historical Inquiry*, p. 59 n. In support of this bold statement Dr Whittaker quotes four passages from Coverdale (pp. 52 ff.), and compares them with all the versions which, as he affirms, he could have consulted. As Coverdale differs from these, he is pronounced to have translated 'from 'the Hebrew and from nothing 'else' (p. 50). Unhappily Dr Whittaker was not acquainted with the German-Swiss Version —a sufficiently famous book— from which they are all rendered. Ex. xxxiv. 30: Num. x. 31: Is. lvii. 5: Dan. iii. 25. [Since this was written I find that Dr Ginsburg has already pointed out the falsity of Dr Whittaker's argument: Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, s. v. Coverdale. To him therefore belongs the credit of having first clearly proved the dependence of Coverdale on the Zurich Bible. It was indeed from the reference to Dr Ginsburg in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, that I was led to examine in detail the Zurich Versions. Henceforth it may be hoped we shall hear no more of Dr Whittaker's mistake.]

[2] Compare p. 98.

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Juda, Zurich (1524-9, 1539, &c.), and on the Latin of Pagninus. He made use also of Luther and the Vulgate. His fifth version may have been the Worms German Bible of 1529, or the Latin Bible of Rudelius with marginal renderings from the Hebrew (1527, 1529), or (as is most likely), for he does not specify that his '*five* interpreters' are all Latin or German, the published English translations of Tyndale to which he elsewhere refers.

Coverdale's translation of Malachi.

The examination of a few chapters will place the primary dependence of Coverdale in the Old Testament on the Zurich Bible beyond all doubt. Thus in the four short chapters of Malachi there are about five-and-twenty places where he follows the German against the Hebrew and Vulgate. Three sample instances may be quoted. In i. 4, it is said 'they shall be called *The border of* '*wickedness*,' in the Hebrew and Latin as in the Authorised Version, but in Coverdale '*A cursed* '*land*,' a literal translation of the German. Again in i. 13, 'it is *weariness* to me,' a single word, but in Coverdale and the German we read 'it is but '*labour and travail*.' Once again in iii. 8, 'will a 'man *rob* God?' is represented in Coverdale and the German by 'should a man *use falsehood and deceit* 'with God?' And such coincidences occur not in

one book only but throughout the Old Testament[1]. But at the same time on rare occasions Coverdale prefers to follow some one of the other translations which he consulted. Thus in two passages, ii. 3; 14, 15, of which the latter is a very remarkable one, he adopts the renderings of Pagninus and Luther in preference to those of the Zurich Bible.

General character of his Bible.

It is not therefore surprising that notwithstanding his acknowledged partiality for the German translators, Coverdale availed himself freely of the work of Tyndale as far as it was published, the Pentateuch, Jonah[2], and the New Testament[3]. His Pentateuch may, indeed, unless a partial examination has misled me, be fairly described as the Zurich translation rendered into English by the help of Tyndale, with constant reference to Luther, Pagninus and the Vulgate. In the remaining books of the Old Testament the influence of the

[1] Other examples are given more at length in § 4, and App. VII.

[2] A verse from Jonah (iv. 6) may be quoted to shew the extent of the resemblance. The variations of Tyndale are noted in italics and given below: 'and 'the Lord *God** prepared† a wild 'vine which sprung up over Jo- 'nas that he might have shadow '*above*‡ his head, to deliver him 'out of his pain. And Jonas was 'exceeding glad of the wild vine.'

* *om.* Tyndale. † *add* as it were. Tyndale. ‡ *over*, Tyndale.

One singular phrase in ii. 3 common to Cov. and Tyn. may be noted, 'all thy waves and '*rowles of water* went over me.'

[3] Like Rogers he neglected the fragmentary 'Epistles.' See p. 229.

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Zurich Bible greatly preponderates[1]. In the Apocrypha Coverdale moves with comparative freedom, and his translation has far more originality.

His New Testament a revision of Tyndale's.

The New Testament is a very favourable specimen of his labour. Its basis is Tyndale's first edition, but this he very carefully revised by the help of the second edition[2] and yet more by the German. Thus on a rough calculation of changes, not simply of form or rhythm, more than three-fourths of the emendations introduced by Coverdale into Tyndale's version of 1 John are derived from Luther, but the whole number of changes, and they are nearly all verbal, is, if I have counted rightly, only a hundred and twenty-three.

Coverdale's merits as a translator.

Thus the claims of Coverdale, as far as his Bible is concerned, must be reduced to the modest limits which he fixed himself. But though he is not original yet he was endowed with an

[1] His various renderings throw great light on the authorities which he consulted. These are traced to their sources in App. IV.

[2] In 1 John he appears to follow the first and second editions where they differ in about an equal number of places. But it is evident that the first edition was his foundation, for he follows it in one clear mistake of reading iii. 11, that *ye* should love, and in one error of grammar, iv. 20, *hateth*, both of which were corrected by Tyndale on revision, and would not have been reintroduced.

The changes are such as would easily have been made while the book was passing through the press.

instinct of discrimination which is scarcely less precious than originality, and a delicacy of ear which is no mean qualification for a popular translator. It would be an interesting work to note the subtle changes of order and turns of expression which we owe to him. In the epistle from which most of our illustrations have been taken 'the pride of *life*' and 'the world *passeth* away,' are immeasurable improvements on Tyndale's 'the 'pride of *goods*,' and 'the world *vanisheth* away;' and the rendering 'shutteth up his *heart*,' (due to Luther) is as much more vigorous than Tyndale's 'shutteth up his *compassion*' as it is more touching than the strange combination of the Authorised Version 'shutteth up his *bowels of compassion*.'

Coverdale has a tendency to diffuseness, which in some places (as Ecclus. xliv.) leads him to long paraphrases of his text. The fault is one from which the Zurich Bible also suffers, and he may have fallen into it from imitating the style of his model too closely even when he abandoned its words. But his phrasing is nearly always rich and melodious. The general character of his version as compared with that of Tyndale may be very fairly represented by that of the Prayer Book

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Version of the Psalms as compared with the Authorised Version in the Bible. In both cases Coverdale's work is smooth rather than literal. He resolves relatives and participles and inserts conjunctions, if in that way he may make the rendering easier[1].

His account of his work.

Just as Coverdale valued highly the existence of many translations[2] so he claimed for himself the right to extend this characteristic of diversity to his own work. He thought that he could thus attain comprehensiveness by variety, and secure in some measure for one translation the advantages which he found in many. 'Whereas 'the most famous interpreters of all give sundry 'judgments of the text, so far as it is done by 'the spirit of knowledge in the Holy Ghost, me- 'think no man should be offended thereat, for 'they refer their doings in meekness to the Spirit 'of truth in the congregation of God...Be not thou 'offended therefore, good reader, though one call 'a *scribe* that other calleth a *lawyer;* or *elders* 'that other calleth *father and mother;* or *repent-* '*ance* that another calleth *penance* or *amendment*... 'And this manner have I used in my translation, 'calling it in some place *penance* that in other

[1] See p. 165. [2] See p. 76.

'place I call *repentance;* and that not only be- 'cause the interpreters have done so before me, 'but'—and this introduces a second characteristic reason—'that the adversaries of the truth may see 'how that we abhor not this word penance, as they 'untruly report of us[1]...'

The work which he did for the English Bible.

There may be some weakness in this, and Coverdale suffered for it; yet it may not be lightly condemned. In crises of great trial it is harder to sympathize with many views than with one. There is a singularity which is the element of progress; but there is a catholicity which is the condition of permanence; and this Coverdale felt. 'As the Holy Ghost is one working in thee 'and me as He will, so let us not swerve from 'that unity but be one in Him. And for my 'part I ensure thee I am indifferent to call it 'as well with the one term as with the other, so 'long as I know that it is no prejudice nor in- 'jury to the meaning of the Holy Ghost...[2]' He may have carried his respect for some so-called 'Ecclesiastical' words to an excessive length, but even in this repect his merit was substantial. It was well that Tyndale should for a time break the spell which was attached to words like *cha-*

[1] *Remains*, pp. 19, 20.

[2] *Remains*, p. 29.

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rity, confess, church, grace, priest, and recall men to their literal meaning in *love,* [*ac*]*knowledge, congregation, favour, elder;* but it was no less well that the old words, and with them the historical teaching of many centuries, should not be wholly lost from our Bibles. That they were not lost was due to the labours of Coverdale; but his influence was felt not so much directly through his own first bible, as through Matthew's Bible, in which a large portion of it was incorporated, and still more through the Great Bible, in which he revised more than once his own work and that of Tyndale with which it had been joined[1].

[1] The classification of the books in Coverdale's Bible (1535) is the following:—

(1) The Pentateuch.

(2) The second part of the Old Testament.

Josua—1 Esdr. 2 Esdr. Esther.

Job—Salomons Balettes (with no special heading).

(3) All the Prophets in English.

Esay, Jeremy, *Baruch*, Ezechiel—Malachy.

(4) Apocrypha. 'The books 'and treatises which among the 'fathers of old are not reckoned 'to be of like authority with the 'other books of the Bible, neither 'are they found in the Canon of 'the Hebrew.

'3 Esdras, 4 Esdras... 1 Mach. '2 Mach.

'Unto these also belongeth 'Baruch, whom we have set 'among the prophets next unto 'Jeremy, because he was his 'scribe, and in his time.'

(5) The New Testament.

iv. Gospels. Acts.
The Epistles of S. Paul.
Romans—Philemon.
1. 2 S. Peter.
1. 2. 3 S. John.
Hebrews.
S. James.
S. Jude.
The Revelation of S. John.

§ 3. Matthew.

Matthew's Bible composite.

The Bible which bears Matthew's name consists of three distinct elements. The Pentateuch and the New Testament are reprinted from Tyndale's published translations with very slight variations[1]. The books of the Old Testament from Ezra to Malachi, and the Apocrypha, are reprinted in like manner from Coverdale. The remaining books of the Old Testament from Joshua

In Nycolson's new edition of the Bible (1537) the books are arranged differently:

(1) The first part: Genesis—Ruth.

(2) The second part: 1 Samuel—Esther.

(3) The third part: Job—Salomon's Ballets.

(4) The Prophets: Esaias, Jeremias, Threni, Ezech.—Malachias.

(5) The Apocrypha: 3 Esdr. 4 Esdr....Baruch...1 Mach. 2 Mach.

The books in the N. T. follow the same order as before.

The edition of 1550 follows the order of that of 1537.

The edition of 1537 is described as being 'newly over-'seen and corrected;' but as far as I have been able to compare the texts the differences which are not accidental are few and unimportant. In 1 John I have noted only the following:—

i. 1 of *the* life (of life 1535).
7 is light (is *in* light).
ii. 14 *the* wicked (*that* wicked).
28 be ashamed (be *made* ashamed).
iii. 18 my children (my *little* children).
iv. 3 *the* spirit (*that* spirit).
v. 10 because...of his Son. Omitted in 1535.
11 *the* record (*that* record).

[1] I have not collated any considerable passages of the Pentateuch with Matthew, though it would be interesting to compare a complete book in the Pentateuchs of 1531 and 1534 with Matthew (1537). The text of Matthew's New Testament is examined below, p. 232.

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to 2 Chronicles are a new translation. Nothing in the book itself indicates the sources from which it was derived, and the direct external evidence is vague and inconclusive. If it proves anything it proves too much. Thus Strype, following Bale, relates that Rogers 'translated the Bible [in this 'edition] into English from Genesis to the end 'of Revelations, making use of the Hebrew, Greek, 'Latin, German and English (that is Tyndale's) 'copies.' He also it is said 'added prefaces and 'notes out of Luther, and dedicated the whole 'book to king Henry, under the name of Thomas 'Matthews (*sic*) by an epistle prefixed, minding 'to conceal his own name[1].' No description could well be more inaccurate. More than a third of the book is certainly Coverdale's. The Preface to the Apocrypha is translated from that in the French Bible of Olivetan[2]. The Prologue to the Romans is Tyndale's. The dedication is signed by Thomas Matthew. It is evident that no dependence can be placed on the details of such

Strype's account of it.

[1] Strype, *Cranmer*, I. 117. With singular inconsistency Strype elsewhere (p. 84) gives Foxe's account (quoted below), which is different from this in many essential particulars.

[2] This insertion is very remarkable. I have not been able to detect any other mark of the influence of the French translation on Matthew.

evidence. The narrative of Foxe is not more satisfactory: 'In the translation of this Bible the 'greatest doer was indeed W. Tyndale, who with 'the help of Miles Coverdale had translated all the 'books thereof except only the Apocrypha, and 'certain notes in the margin which were added 'after. But because the said W. Tyndale in the 'meantime was apprehended before this Bible was 'fully perfected, it was thought good...to father 'it by a strange name of Thomas Matthewe. 'John Rogers at the same time being corrector 'to the print, who had then translated the residue 'of the Apocrypha and added also certain notes 'thereto in the margin: and thereof came it to 'be called "Thomas Matthewe's Bible[1]."' It is unnecessary to dwell upon the errors in this account. Foxe has evidently wrought out into a story the simple fact that Tyndale, Coverdale and Rogers were all engaged upon the work.

Foxe's account.

But although these original statements are thus loose, and I have been unable to find any more trustworthy, it can scarcely be doubted that Rogers did superintend Matthew's Bible, and used in it the materials which Tyndale had prepared, and that these constitute the new translation (Joshua—2

Rogers edited it.

[1] *Acts and Monuments*, v. 410.

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Chronicles). If he had purposed to complete the translation himself it is not likely that he would have paused at the end of 2 Chronicles. On the other hand, Tyndale's engagements might have allowed him to complete thus much more of his work in the interval between the publication of his Pentateuch and his death. The version of Jonah was an exceptional work, and furnishes no ground for supposing that he did not intend to proceed regularly through the Old Testament. Perhaps, too, it was from the exceptional character of this translation, which was as it were a text for the prologue, that Rogers was led to adopt Coverdale's version of Jonah as well as of the other prophets, though he could not have been ignorant of Tyndale's work; and the fact that Coverdale had used Tyndale's rendering diligently left no overpowering reason for abandoning him.

The version of Jonah from Coverdale.

We are not however left wholly to conjecture in determining the authorship of the original portion of Matthew's Bible. The 'Epistles of the Old 'Testament' added to Tyndale's New Testament of 1534, contain several passages from the historical books as well as from the Pentateuch; and generally it may be said that these fragments bear about the same relation to the translation

Matthew's text compared with the 'Epistles from the Old Testament.'

in Matthew as those from the Pentateuch do to Tyndale's published text. There are from time to time considerable variations between them, but still it is evident that the renderings are not independent. It is of course possible that Rogers may have consulted the fragments in the execution of his work, but, as will appear directly, this supposition is practically inadmissible, because the corresponding sections from the Prophets and the Apocrypha are completely neglected.

Examples.

Two examples will illustrate the extent of the coincidence and variations between the versions, and serve to shew how much dependence can be placed on this indication of the identity of their authorship.

TYNDALE, 1534.	MATTHEW (TYNDALE).	
17 '*In those days it*	17 '*After these things it*	1 *Kings*
'*chanced* that the son of the	'*happened*, that the son of	*xvii.* 17—
'wife of the house *was* sick,	'the wife of the house *fell*	22.
'and *the* sickness was so	'sick, and his sickness was	
'*great* that there *remained*	'so *sore* that there *was no*	
'*no breath* in him. 18 Then	'*breath left* in him. 18	
'*she said to Helias*, What	'Then *said she unto Eliah*,	
'have I to do with thee *thou*	'What have I to do with	
'man of God? *Didst* thou	'thee, *O thou* man of God?	
'come *to* me that my sin	'*Art* thou come *unto* me	
'should be *kept in mind* and	'that my sin should be	
'*to slay my son?* 19 And	'*thought on* and *my son*	

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Tyndale, 1534.	Matthew (Tyndale).
'he said unto her give me 'thy son, and he took him 'out of her lap, and carried 'him up into *an high cham-* 'ber where *he himself dwelt* 'and laid him *on the* bed. '20 And *he called* unto the 'Lord, and said, O Lord 'my God, hast thou *dealt* 'so *cruelly with* the widow 'with whom I *dwell as to* 'kill her son? 21 And he 'measured *the child* three 'times, and called unto the 'Lord, and said, *Lord*, my 'God, let this *child's* soul 'come *again into him.* 22 'And the Lord *hearkened* 'unto the voice of *Helias*, 'and *this child's soul* came 'again *into him*, and he re- 'vived.'	'slain?* 19 And *Eliah* said 'unto her, Give me thy 'son. And he took him 'out of her lap and carried 'him up into *a loft* where 'he lay, and laid him *upon* 'his own bed; 20 And *called* 'unto the Lord, and said, 'O Lord my God, hast 'thou *been so evil unto* this 'widow with whom I *so-* 'journ, that thou hast slain 'her son? 21 And he *stretch-* 'ed himself upon the lad 'three times, and called 'unto the Lord, and said, 'O Lord my God, let this 'lad's soul come *unto him* 'again. 22 And the Lord 'heard the voice of *Eliah*, 'and *the soul of the lad* came 'into him again and he re- 'vived.'

To these versions that of Coverdale[1] may be added for comparison. The differences from *both* the others are marked: '*After these acts* the son of 'the wife of the house was sick, and his sickness 'was so *exceeding* sore that there remained no

[1] The text of 1537 agrees with that of 1535.

'breath in him. *And* she said unto Elias What 'have I to do with thee, thou man of God? art 'thou come unto me that my sin should be kept in '*remembrance*, and *that* my son *should be* slain. *He* 'said unto her give me thy son. And he took him '*from* her lap and carried him up into *the chamber* 'where he himself dwelt, and laid him upon his 'bed, and called *upon* the Lord and said, O Lord 'my God, hast thou *dealt so evil* with the widow 'with whom I dwell, that thou *wouldest slay* her 'son? And he stretched *out* himself *over* the child 'three times, and called *upon* the Lord and said, 'O Lord my God let *the soul of this child* come 'again into him. And the Lord heard the voice of 'Elias, and *the soul of the child* came again *unto* 'him, and he revived.'

The second example is similar in character:

Tyndale, 1534.	Matthew (Tyndale).
5 'And as he lay and 'slept under *a* genaper 'tree behold an angel 'touched him and said *thus:* 'Up and eat. 6 And he 'looked *up*, and *behold* there 'was at his head *a cake* '*baken on the coals* and a 'cruse of water. And he	5 'And as he lay and 1 *Kings xix.* 5—7. 'slept under *the* ginaper 'tree, behold *there came* an 'angel *and* touched him 'and said *unto him*, Up and 'eat. 6 And he looked '*about him*, and *see* there 'was *a loaf of broiled bread* 'and a cruse of water at his

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Tyndale, 1534.	Matthew (Tyndale).
'ate and drank, and laid 'him down again. 7 And 'the angel of the Lord 'came again the second 'time, and touched him, 'and said, Up and eat, for 'thou hast a great way to 'go.'	'head. And he ate and 'drank, and laid him down 'again *to sleep?* 7 And the 'angel of the Lord came 'again the second time, and 'touched him and said Up 'and eat, for thou hast a '*long journey* to go.'

These versions may again be compared with Coverdale's: 'And *he laid him down* and slept un-'der the juniper tree; *and* behold *the* angel touched 'him and said unto him *Stand* up and eat. And 'he looked about him, and behold at his head there 'was a *bread* baken on the coals and a cruse *with* 'water. And *when he had eaten and drunken he* laid 'him down again to sleep. And the angel of the 'Lord came again the second time and touched 'him and said *Stand* up and eat, for thou hast a 'great way to go[1].'

It must be remembered in considering these fragments that they are taken from simple narratives, where there is comparatively little scope for striking variations[2]. But even so, as far as

[1] The editions of 1535 and 1537 again agree.

[2] In a few verses of Genesis (xxxvii. 5—9) the following variations occur between the 'Epistle' and the published Pentateuch: *a* dream *that* I (*this* dream *which* I *have*): making *of* sheaves

they go, they fall in with the traditional belief that the new translation in Matthew's Bible is really Tyndale's and not a new work of Rogers[1].

Tyndale's fragmentary translations neglected.

But while Rogers thus incorporated into his Bible, as we believe, all the complete translations of Tyndale, except Jonah, he took no account of the fragments which Tyndale had appended to the revised edition of his New Testament as 'Epistles from the Old Testament according to 'the use of Salisbury.' This collection includes (if I have counted rightly) twenty-three lessons from the prophets and six from the Apocrypha, besides others from the Pentateuch and Hagiographa. In those which I have examined Matthew's Bible coincides verbally with Coverdale, and Tyndale's version is wholly different from both. Two examples will be sufficient to shew the extent of the variation, and they are the

(making sheaves): *See! (lo!)*: *your sheaves—unto* (*yours—to*): *for—for* (*because of—of*): *and he said* (*saying*): *I dreamed yet another* dream (*I have had one* dream *more*). The passage Ex. xxiv. 12—18, on the other hand, shews only one variation. Ex. xx. 12—24 and Num. xx. 2—13 are very similar in both, but with variations.

[1] I am unable to speak of the style of the two groups of books—the Pentateuch and Joshua——2 Chron. A careful comparison of the versions in this respect could not fail to be fruitful; but to be of any value it must be minute. I can find nothing but vague generalities in the authors to whom I have referred.

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more worthy of consideration as the relation of Rogers to the two earlier translations has been commonly misrepresented. There is nothing which proves that he allowed himself more liberty in dealing with Coverdale's work than in dealing with Tyndale's.

	TYNDALE.	MATTHEW (COVERDALE).
Is. li. 6.	'My righteousness is nigh, 'and my salvation shall go 'out and mine arm shall 'judge nations and islands 'shall look for me and shall 'tarry after mine arm.'	'It is hard by that my 'health and my righteous- 'ness shall go forth, and the 'people shall be ordered 'with mine arm. The is- 'lands (that is, the Gentiles) 'shall hope in me and put 'their trust in mine arm.'
Ecclus. xv. 5.	'She shall exalt him a- 'mong his neighbours and 'shall open his mouth even 'in the thickest of the con- 'gregation.'	'She shall bring him to 'honour among his neigh- 'bours and in the midst 'of the congregation shall 'she open his mouth.'

The text of Matthew's Bible only provisional.

It is then evident that Rogers did not undertake an elaborate revision of the texts of Tyndale and Coverdale which he adopted. Still there are some changes in the version which are unquestionably intentional (*e.g.* Prov. i. 1, Is. i. 1), and numerous various readings in the margin (*e.g.* Ps.

xlvii. f.). The numbering of the Psalms is accommodated to the Hebrew division. The interpolated verses in Ps. xiv., which Coverdale had specially marked as 'wanting in the Hebrew' are omitted, The 'Hallelujah' in the last Psalm is nobly rendered 'Praise *the Everlasting*.' The characters in 'Solomon's Ballet' (Canticles) are distinguished by rubricated headings. But the distinguishing feature of the edition is the marginal commentary on which the chief labour of the editor was bestowed. This however belongs rather to the history of doctrine than to the history of the English Bible[1]. And when this is set aside the textual peculiarities of the edition are unimportant. In itself Matthew's Bible has had no original and independent influence upon the authorized text. Its great work was to present the earlier texts in a combined form which might furnish the common basis of later revisions. But in this respect it is most unjust to call it Tyndale's Bible. If regard be had to the books taken from each it is in its primitive form hardly less Coverdale's than Tyndale's, though (if we except

[1] It would be an interesting and easy task to trace out the sources of the commentary. Pellican was obviously used. Some specimens of the notes are given in App. v. See also p. 93 n.

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the Psalms) much more of Tyndale's than of Coverdale's work has been preserved unchanged in common use.

The New Testament of Matthew taken from Tyndale's revision of 1535.

There is still one point in the history of Matthew's Bible which is of considerable interest. The text of the New Testament differs considerably in details from Tyndale's revised edition of 1534. This fact has lent colour to the belief that Rogers revised the text of the Bible throughout, for it has been assumed that Tyndale did not again revise his own work. The assumption and the conclusion were equally wrong. It has been seen already that the remarkable New Testament of 1535 was again, as the title-page affirms, 'diligently 'corrected and compared with the Greek,' and this last revision, and not that of 1534, was adopted by Rogers. The differences which exist between Matthew and this last Testament of Tyndale are very slight and can be explained in most cases by the supposition of accidental errors: their agreement on the other hand extends to the adoption of some certain mistakes. A complete collation remains yet to be made, but on an examination of a large number of passages I have not found any characteristic reading of the edition of 1535 which does not also appear in Matthew's

Bible of 1537[1]. From internal evidence it seems

[1] The following collation of Tyndale's Testaments of 1534, 1535, and Matthew of 1537 in Mark xvi. and the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians will justify in all respects the statements made in the text. The error in Mark xvi. 17 is very remarkable. The readings in ( ) are those of the Testament of 1534.

Mark xvi. 11 *though* (when 1534) they heard...and (he 1534) had appeared...*yet* (om.)...they believed not. So Matthew (1537).

— 17 these *things* (these signs). So Matthew.

— 19 *sate him* down (*is set* down). So Matthew.

Rom. i. 5 unto + *the* obedience. So Matthew.

16 the Jew*s*...the Gentile*s*... Not Matthew.

— ii. 1 in *that* (the) same. So Matthew.

8 *and* (yet) follow. So Matthew.

9 Jew*s*...Gentile*s*...Not Matthew.

— iv. 10 in + *the* time of circumcision. So Matthew.

— vii. 8 for + *verily* without the law. So Matthew.

— viii. 3 inasmuch + *as* it was weak. So Matthew.

15 *not* (no) received. So Matthew.

30 them also he c. (them he also c.) So Matthew.

— ix. 16 *running* (cunning). So Matthew.

xii. 13 *be ready* to harbour (*diligently* to h.). So Matthew.

— xiii. 8 *the* commandments *be* (these c.). Not Matthew.

13 as were it in (*the* 1534) day. Not Matthew.

— xiv. 15 with (*thy* 1534) meat. Not Matthew.

— xv. 5 Christ + *Jesu*. So Matthew.

— xvi. 5 the *congregation* that is in *their* house (all the company that is in thy house). So Matthew.

18 preaching (preachings). So Matthew.

19 innocent *as* concerning (innocents concerning). So Matthew.

Gal. ii. 1 thereafter (after that). So Matthew.

2 *between ourselves* with them (apart with them). So Matthew.

16 *can* be (shall be). So Matthew.

— iii. 4 *then* ye (there ye). Matthew omits.

9 + *the* faithful A. Not Matthew.

16 as one (as *in* one)....Not Matthew.

Compare also App. III.

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likely that both these texts were taken from the same corrected copy of Tyndale. Such a hypothesis would account equally for the discrepancies between them, since the New Testament at least is most carelessly printed, and for their agreement in errors, which can only have been derived from the original copy[1].

§ 4. The Great Bible.

The Great Bible a revision of Matthew's by Coverdale.

Matthew's Bible was essentially a transitional work. It had hardly passed into circulation when a careful revision of it was undertaken. This, as all evidence external and internal goes to prove, was entrusted to Coverdale. It was thoroughly characteristic of the man that he should be ready to devote himself to the perfecting of another's labours; and he has left us an account of his method of procedure. 'We follow,' he writes, 'not

Coverdale's plan. June 23rd, 1538.

[1] The Books of the Bible are arranged in the following order:

The books of the Old Testament.

Genesis—The Ballet of ballets.

The Prophets: Isaiah—Malachi.

The Apocrypha: 3 Esdr. 4 Esdr.....Baruch.....1 Mach. 2 Mach.

The New Testament.

The four Gospels. The Acts.

The Epistles. ¶ Romans—Philemon.

¶ 1. 2 S. Peter.

¶ 1. 2. 3 S. John.

¶ To the Hebrews.

¶ S. James.

¶ Judas.

¶ The Revelation.

The order of the books in Taverner (1539) is the same.

'only a standing text of the Hebrews, with the in-
'terpretation of the Chaldee and the Greek[1]; but
'we set also in a private table the diversity of read-
'ings of all texts...' And again when the work *Aug. 9th.*
had made some progress he enters into greater details: 'As touching the manner and order that we 'keep in the same work, pleaseth your good lord-'ship to be advertised that the mark ☞ in the 'text signifieth that upon the same in the latter 'end of the book there is some notable annotation 'which we have written without any private opi-'nion, only after the best interpreters of the He-'brews, for the more clearness of the text. This 'mark o+ betokeneth that upon the same text 'there is diversity of reading among the Hebrews, 'Chaldees and Greeks and Latinists; as in a table 'at the end of the book shall be declared. This 'mark * sheweth that the sentence written in 'small letters is not in the Hebrew or Chaldee, but 'in the Latin, and seldom in the Greek, and that 'we nevertheless would not have it extinct, but 'highly accept it for the more explanation of the 'text. This token † in the Old Testament giveth

[1] These would be accessible in the Complutensian Polyglott. A copy of this with the autograph of Cranmer is now in the British Museum. Coverdale may have used these very volumes.

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'to understand that the same text which followeth 'it is also alleged of Christ or of some Apostle in 'the New Testament. This among our other ne- 'cessary labours is the way that we take in this 'work...'

Münster's edition his chief help in the Old Testament.

It is obvious that a man who thus describes his plan is not the mere press-corrector of another's revision, but himself the editor of the entire work[1]. If there were any doubt remaining it would be removed by the character of the revision. About the time when Coverdale's own Version was passing through the press a new Latin Version of the Old Testament with the Hebrew text and a commentary chiefly from Hebrew sources was published by S. Münster (1534—5). It does not appear that at that time Coverdale was able to avail himself of it. The Zurich Version was sufficient. But a very slight comparison of Münster with the Zurich Bible could not fail to bring out the superior clearness of the former. Even a poor Hebrew scholar must feel its general faithfulness. Thus

[1] It is a very important confirmation of this view that Fulke speaks of the Bible of 1562 'most 'used in the Church Service in 'King Edward's time' as 'Doc- 'tor Coverdale's translation.' (*Defence of Eng. Trans.* p. 68). This was an edition of the Great Bible. This passage also explains the anecdote which he gives of the criticism and revision of 'Coverdale's Bible.' See p. 254, n. 2.

Coverdale found an obvious method to follow. He revised the text of Matthew, which was laid down as the basis, by the help of Münster. The result was the Great Bible.

One difficult passage given in full will be sufficient to shew the certainty of this explanation of the origin of the text of the Great Bible, and for the interest of the comparison the Zurich original of Coverdale's translation is added[1].

Judges v. 28—30.

MATTHEW (TYNDALE). '*Through a window* '*looked Sisera's mother* and *howled* through *a lattice* 'Why *abideth* his chariot so long, that *it* cometh not? '*Why tarry* the wheels of his *waggons?*

'The wisest *of her* ladies answered *her, yea and* '*she answered her own words herself, Haply*, they '*have found* and divide the spoil: a maid, *yea two* '*maids, for a piece*: *a spoil of diverse colours for* 'Sisera, a spoil *of divers colours with brodered* '*works, divers coloured brodered works for* the neck '*of* a prey.'

COVERDALE.	ZURICH VERSION.
His mother looked out at the window, and *cried piteously* through *the trellis*, Why	Seyn mutter sach zum fenster ausz, vnnd Schrey mit klag durchs gätter:

[1] The italicised words are differently rendered in the several versions, and furnish the best means of comparison with the Greek and Latin. I have kept the spelling of the German of 1530.

COVERDALE.

tarrieth his chariot *out* so long that *he* cometh not? *Wherefore do* the wheels of his *chariot make so long tarrying?* The wisest *among* its ladies answered *and said unto her Should* they *not find* and divide the spoil, *unto every man a fair* maid *or two for a prey, and party coloured garments of needle-work to* Sisera *for* a spoil, *party coloured garments of needle-work about* the neck *for* a prey?

ZURICH VERSION.

Warumb bleibt sein wagen so lang aussen, das er nit kompt? Warumb verziehend die reder seins wagens?

Die weysest vnder seinen frawen antwurtet, vnnd sprach zu jn: Sollend sy nit finden vnd auszteilen den raub, eyn yeglichen mann eyn schöne mätzen oder zwo zur auszbeüt, vnd Sissera bundte gestickte kleyder zur auszbeüt, gestickte bundte kleyder vmb den halsz zur auszbeüt.

GREAT BIBLE (1539, 1540, 1541).

The mother of Sisera looked out at a window and cried through the lattice. Why is his chariot so long *a coming?* Why tarry the wheels of his *carts?*

All the wise ladies answered her, yea and *her own words answered herself: Surely* they have found, they divide the spoils. *Every*

MÜNSTER.

Per fenestram prospexit et vociferata est mater Siseræ, per cancellos inquam: quare moratur currus ejus venire? ut quid morantur vestigia quadrigarum ejus? Sapientes quæque dominæ respondebant illi, quin et ipsa sibi ipsi reddebat verba. Certe invenerunt, dividunt spolia:

Great Bible (1530, 1540, 1541).	Münster.
man hath a damsel or two. *Sisera hath a prey* of divers coloured garments, *even a prey of raiment dyed with sundry colours, and that are made* of needle-work raiment of divers colours and of needle-work, *which is meet for him that is chief in distributing of the spoils.*	est puella vel duæ puellæ cuilibet viro: habet Sisera predam vestium coloratarum, prædam inquam vestium vario tinctarum colore et quæ acu pictæ sunt: vestem discolorem et acu pictam, quæ priori competit in spoliorum distributione.

Collation of Ps. li.

The collation of a longer passage gives an exactly similar result. The fifty-first Psalm has no especial difficulty, but Coverdale (Matthew) and the Great Bible differ in the following places. Every change it will be seen can be traced to Munster, except one which is marked as coming from the Latin Vulgate[1].

1 thy goodness Coverdale.
thy * *great'* goodness Great Bible.
— *and* according unto thy *great*... C.
— according to the *multitude* of... G. B.
— secundum *multitudinem*... Münster.
2 wash me *well* C.
wash me *thoroughly* G. B.
plurimum M.

[1] The initials are used for the different Bibles after the first quotation.

4 against thee only, against thee... C.
against thee only G. B.: M.
— evil C.
this evil G. B.
malum *hoc* M.
— in thy *sayings* C.
in thy *saying* G. B.
in *sermone tuo* M.
— shouldest *overcome* C.
[mightest be] *clear* G. B.
[esses] *purus* M.

6 thou *hast a pleasure in the* truth and *shewest* me *secret* wisdom C.
thou *requirest* truth *in the inward parts* and *shalt make me to understand* wisdom *secretly.* G. B.
veritatem *exigis in interioribus* et *in occulto* sapientiam *me scire facies* M.

7 O *reconcile* me with... C.
[O *purge* me with... (Matt.)]
thou shalt purge me with... G. B.
expiabis me M.
— *wash thou* me C.
Thou shalt wash me G. B.
lavabis me M.

8 *O let* me hear... C.

Thou shalt make me hear... G. B.
facies me audire... M.
13 that sinners may be converted... C.
and sinners *shall* be converted... G. B.
et peccatores ad te *convertentur*... M.
14 *that* my tongue *may praise*... C.
and my tongue *shall sing of*... G. B.
et cantabit lingua mea... M.
15 *Open* C.
Thou shalt open... G. B.
aperies M.
— *that* my mouth *may*... C.
my mouth *shall*... G. B.
os meum *annunciabit*... M.
16 *if* thou *hadst pleasure* in... *I would*... C.
thou *desirest no*... *else* would I... G. B.
non desideras... *alioquin* darem... M.
18 *that* the walls of Jerusalem *may be builded*. C.
Build thou the walls of Jerusalem. G. B.
Ædifica muros J. M.
19 *For then* shalt... C.
then shalt... G. B.
tunc acceptabis... M.
— lay bullocks... C.
offer young bullocks. G. B.
offerent juvencos. M.

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Examples from Ps. xix. xlii.

A complete collation of two other Psalms (xix. xlii) gives an equally complete coincidence of all the changes introduced into the Greek Bible with Münster's renderings. It will be enough to quote one or two of the more remarkable:

xix. 6 there *may no man hide himself* from the heat thereof. C.

there *is nothing hid* from the heat thereof. G. B.

nihil est quod absconditur a calore ejus. M.

7 The law of the Lord is a *perfect* law: *it quickeneth* the soul: the testimony...is *true* and giveth wisdom *even* unto *babes*. C.

The law of the Lord is an *undefiled* law, converting the soul: the testimony... is *sure* and giveth wisdom unto *the simple*. G. B.

Lex domini *immaculata, convertens* animam: testimonium domini *firmum*, sapienter erudiens *simplicem*. M.

xlii. 4 for I would fain go hence with... and pass over with them unto ... C.

for I went with... and brought them forth into... G. B.

quippe qui transibam ... diducens eos usque ad... M.

8 therefore I remember the land of Jordan. C.
therefore *will* I remember thee *concerning* the land of Jordan. G. B.
idcirco *recordabor* tui *de* terra Jordanis... M.[1]

15 I will yet thank him *for the help of his* countenance and *because*... C.
I will yet thank him *which is the help of my* countenance and my... G. B.
confitebor ei *qui est salus* vultus *mei* et deus meus.

In all the passages which have been hitherto quoted the text of the three typical editions of the Greek Bible—Crumwell's, April 1539, Cranmer's, April 1540, Tunstall's and Heath's, Nov. 1540—is with one exception (or at most two) exactly identical[2]. But this is not the case in all the parts of the Bible.

The Prophets revised again before 1540.

In the Prophets the revision was less complete in the first (Crumwell's) edition, and Cover-

[1] Here the preposition *de* of Münster has been wrongly rendered.

[2] The variations which I have observed are Ps. xlii. 12 *add.* as with a sword (Nov. 1540) from Münster; and Ps. xix. 10 than *honeycomb* and the *honey* (Nov. 1540), probably a printer's blunder.

In all the references to the Great Bibles I have availed myself of Mr Fry's exhaustive identification of every sheet of the different editions in his *Description of the Great Bible of* 1539 &c. London, 1865.

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dale appears to have gone again carefully through this part of his work at least before the publication of the second (Crammer's) edition. It is possible that the unsettled prospect of affairs in Paris may have induced him to hurry the printing of the book; or, which is not less likely, the greater difficulty of the Prophets may have hindered him from dealing satisfactorily with them on the first collation. However this may be, the text of Cranmer's Bible presents a second revision of the original Coverdale (Matthew), and that again made by a more thorough use of Münster. A single chapter of Isaiah will shew the relation of the two revisions to one another, to the original rendering (Coverdale) and to Münster. The German (Zurich) quotations determine the source of the first translation[1].

Coverdale (Matthew).

Is. liii.

1 But who *giveth credence* unto *our preaching*? Or to whom is the arm of the Lord known? 2 *He shall grow* before the Lord like as a branch, and as

[1] I have added also for comparison the renderings of Pagninus, that it may be clear that the translation is from Münster and not independently from the Hebrew.

The italics mark the words which were altered. The second English rendering is that of the Great Bible of 1539.

a root in a dry ground. *He shall have* neither beauty nor favour. When *we look* upon him there shall be no fairness: we shall have no lust unto him. 3 *He shall be the most simple and despised of all, which yet hath* good experience of sorrows and infirmities. *We shall reckon him so simple and so* vile that we *shall hide* our faces from him. 4 Howbeit (of a truth) he only *taketh away* our infirmity and *beareth our pain:* yet we *shall* judge him as though he were plagued and cast down *of God:* 5 Whereas he (notwithstanding) *shall be* wounded for our offences and smitten for our wickedness. For the *pain of our punishment shall be laid* upon him, and with his stripes *shall we be* healed. 6 As for us we *go all* astray like sheep, every one *turneth* his own way. But through him the Lord *pardoneth* all our sins. 7 He *shall be pained and troubled and shall not open* his mouth. He shall be led as a sheep to be slain, yet shall he be as still as a lamb before the shearer, and not open his mouth. 8 He *shall be had away*, his cause not heard, and without any judgment; whose generation yet *no man may* number, *when he shall be cut* off from the ground of the living: which punishment *shall* go upon him for the transgression of *my people.* 9 His grave *shall be* given

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him with the condemned and *his crucifying with the thieves*, whereas he did never violence nor unright, neither hath there been any deceitfulness in his mouth. 10 Yet hath it pleased the Lord *to smite him* with infirmity that when he had made his soul an offering for sin he might see *a long-lasting seed*. And this device of the Lord shall prosper in his hand. 11 With travail and labour of his soul shall he obtain *great riches*. My righteous servant shall with *his wisdom* justify and deliver the multitude, for he shall bear away their sins. 12 Therefore will I give him the multitude for his part, and he shall divide the strong spoil, because he *shall give* over his soul to death and *shall be* reckoned among the transgressors which nevertheless *shall take* away the sins of the multitude and make intercession for the misdoers.

1 *giveth credence.*

glaubt Zurich.

hath given credence 1539.

credidit Münster (Pagninus).

our preaching 1539. *vnserem predigen* Z. *the thing we have heard* Apr. Nov. 1540. *auditui nostro* M.

2 *He shall grow.*

er wirdt...wachsen Z.

For he did grow.

ascendit enim M. (et ascendit P.)

2 He *shall have* n.

er *wirt...haben* Z.

he *hath* n.

non *est ei* M. (P).

— we *look* 1539 we *shall look* Apr. Nov. 1540 *videbimus* M.

3 He shall be the most...yet hath...

er wirt der aller schlächtest vnd verachtest, der doch die schmertzen vnnd kranckheytenn wol kennet Z.

He *is despised and abhorred of men,* he is such a man as hath...

Despectus est et deiitatus ab hominibus M. (despectus est et abjectus inter viros. P.)

— as hath good experience of sorrows and infirmities 1539 (Z. see before).

as is full of sorrow and as hath good experience of infirmities. Apr. Nov. 1540.

homo est doloribus (*plenus*) *et qui expertus est infirmitatem.* M.

— *we shall*...and so vile...*shall hide.*

wir werdend jn...vnnd verworffenn rechnen, das wir...verbergen werdend Z.

we *have reckoned* him so vile that we *hid*...

from him 1539 von jm Z.

from him: †yea he was despised and therefore we regarded him not Apr. Nov. 1540.

(et quisque erat) quasi abscondens faciem ab eo: *fuit enim contemptus, ideo non reputavimus eum* M. (despectus et non rep. eum P).

4 *taketh away.*

hinnimpt Z.

hath taken on him.

ipse portavit M. (ipse tulit P.)

— and *beareth our pain*

vnnd vnsere schmertzen tregt Z.

and *borne our pains.*

et *dolores sustinuit* M. (et dolores nostros portavit P.)

— *shall* judge.

so rechnend wir Z.

did judge.

reputavimus M. (P).

of God 1539 als ob er von Gott geschlagen *vnnd genideret sey* Z.

of God *and punished* Apr. Nov. 1540.

percussum a Deo *et afflictum* M. (p. a Deo et *humiliatum* P.)

5 *shall be* wounded.

verwundt...wirt Z.

was wounded.
vulneratus est M. (P.)
5 pain of our punishment 1539 die busz vnserer straaff Z.
chastisement of our peace Apr. Nov. 1540.
castigatio pacis nostræ M. (castigatio *pro pace nostra* P.)
— *shall be* laid.
wirt jm auffgelegt Z.
was laid
fuit...super... (M. (P.)
— *shall we be* healed.
werdend wir gesund Z.
are we healed.
medicatum est nobis M. (sanitas fuit nobis P.)
6 we *go* all.
wir alle *irrend* Z.
we *have gone* all.
erravimus omnes M. (erravimus P.)
— *turneth.*
kert Z.
hath turned.
respeximus M. (conversi sumus P.)
— *pardoneth.*
begnadet Z.
hath pardoned (M. see below).

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6 But through him the Lord hath pardoned all our sins 1539.

aber der Herr begnadet mit jm unser aller sünd Z.

But *the Lord hath heaped together upon him the iniquity of us all* Apr. Nov. 1540

et *dominus fecit concurrere in eo omnium nostrum iniquitates* M. (dominus pervenire fecit ad eum pænam omnium nostrum P.)

7 he shall be pained....not open.

er wirt geengstiget vnd verkümmeret und wirdt ...nit auffthun Z.

he *suffered violence* and *was evil intreated* and *did* not *yet* open...

vim est passus et *inique tractatus* et *tamen* non aperuit... M. (oppressus est et afflictus est et non *aperiet* P.)

8 he *shall be* had away.

er wirt vnuerhörter sach vnd onrecht abgethon, des gschlächt doch niemandt erzellen mag Z.

he *was* had away.

sublatus est M.

— had away 1539 (see above.)

had away and *from prison* Apr. Nov. 1540

de carcere et de judicio sublatus est M. (de *clausura*... P.)

8 *no man* may number.
Z. see above.
who may number?
quis enarrabit? M. (P.)
— *when he shall be* cut...
so er gleich .. auszgehauwen wirt Z.
he was cut...
succisus est M.
— *shall* go.
gon wirt. Z.
did go (M. see below)
— my people 1539 meines volcks Z.
my people †which indeed had deserved that punishment Apr. Nov. 1540.
populi mei *quibus plaga (debebatur)* M. (Propter prævaricationem populi mei plaga fuit ei P.)
9 *shall be* given.
wirt...gegeben Z.
was given.
dedit M. (P.)
— *his crucifying with the thieves.*
sein creützigung mit den rauberenn Z.
with the rich man at his death.
apud divitem in mortibus ejus M. (cum divite inter mortuos suos P.)

9 the Lord to smite 1359 so hat der Herr jnn wollen mit der schweche vmbringenn Z.

the Lord *thus to bruste* (*burste* Nov.) *him with plagues and* to smite Apr. Nov. 1540.

Domino cum *sic conterere et infirmitatem inferre* M.

(Dominus voluit conterere eum ægrotare fecit. P.)

— *a* long lasting.

einen langwirigen somen Z.

longlasting.

quod longas viveret dies M. (prolongabit dies P.)

11 obtain *great riches* 1539 wirt er grosse hab überkommen Z.

obtain *fruit and he shall be satisfied* Apr. Nov. 1540

videbit (*fructum*) *et saturabitur* M.

— *his wisdom.*

mit *seiner kunst* Z.

wisdom

my righteous...multitude 1539 Mein grechter knecht wirt mit seiner kunst die menge grecht machen vnd erlösen. Z.

— *by this knowledge of him which is my righteous servant he shall justify* the multitude Apr. Nov. 1540.

cognitione sui qui justus servus meus est justifi-
cabit multos. M.

12 the strong spoil 1539 der starcken raub Z.
the spoil *with the strongest* Apr. Nov. 1540
cum robustissimis dividet spolia M.

— *shall give*
vergiessen...wirt Z.
giveth
effudit M. (P.)

— *shall be* reckoned
gezellet wirt Z.
is reckoned
numeratus est M. (P.)

— *shall take* away
hinnemmen...wirt Z.
hath taken away
tulit M. (P.)

General results.

From these collations the general character of the versions of the Old Testament in the first two editions of the Great Bible will be sufficiently clear, though a fuller examination would probably bring out some details of the method of revision into more distinct prominence. The variations from the first edition (Crumwell's 1539) in the second (Cranmer's, April 1540) are far greater in the Hagiographa and the Prophets—the part of Matthew's

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Bible which was Coverdale's own work—than those in the earlier books; and the variations of the text of 1539 from that of Matthew (1537) are more important throughout than the changes introduced afterwards[1]. In other words the edition of April 1540 exhibits a text formed on the same principles as that of the edition of 1539, but after a fuller and more thorough revision[2].

Revision of edition of Nov. 1540.

After April 1540 the text of the Great Bible does not appear to have been systematically revised throughout, but still it is a remarkable and unobserved fact that in parts the edition of Nov. 1540 goes back from the text of April 1540 to that of 1539, so that the edition of April 1540 exhibits the greatest approximation to Münster. It is impos-

[1] By some incredible inadvertence Mr Anderson describes Crumwell's Bible as having Matthew's text. The edition of April 1539 and the London reprint of April 1540 (Petyt and Redman) are both carefully revised texts, as has been shewn already. The latter presents some variations from Crumwell's Bible, but they appear to be due rather to the printers than to any special revision: e. g. Ps. li. 14: O God, *O God* of my health: *sing thy* righteousness. 15 shew *forth*.

[2] This revision, as well as the partial one to be mentioned afterwards, was due to Coverdale, as appears from his Sermon quoted by Fulke (p. 98). 'M. Coverdale defended his translation, 'confessing that he did now himself espy some faults which if 'he might review it once over 'again, as he had done *twice* 'before, he doubted not but to 'amend.' This statement can only apply to Crumwell's and Cranmer's Bibles. The changes in the *one* revision of Coverdale's original Bible are not of sufficient importance to be thus

sible to tell without a wide collation on what principle this reaction was carried out: a few examples will exhibit its reality[1].

April 1539; Nov. 1540; May, Nov. 1541.	April, July 1540.	
Is. i. 2, *brought up* children.	*promoted* children.	*Is. i.*
— 4, a *froward generation, unnatural children.*	a *seed of ungracious people corrupting their ways.*	
— 7, as *it were with enemies in a battle.*	as *they were subverted that are alienate from the Lord.*	
— 8, like a *besieged* city.	like a *wasted* city.	
sacrifices unto me.	sacrifices unto me *saith the Lord.*	
— 12, when ye appear before me.	when ye *come to* appear before me.	
—— who requireth you to tread.	who requireth *this of* you to tread.	

described. Another passage of Fulke is itself decisive: 'the 'Bible of 1562,' he writes, 'is 'that which was of Dr Cover-'dale's translation, most used in 'the church service in king Ed-'ward's time' (p. 68). This edition is a reprint of the Great Bible.

The rendering in Is. lvii. 5, 'ye take your pleasure under the 'oaks, under all green trees, and 'ye offer children in the valleys 'and dens of stone' quoted in the *Hist. Account*, p. 203, to shew the existence of an independent revision in Heath's and Tunstall's edition of 1541 is found in Cranmer's (April 1540), and is of course based on Münster: 'calefacitis vos apud quercus sub 'omni ligno frondoso et immola-'tis pueros...'

[1] At first I was inclined to think that mixed sheets had been used for printers' copy in the later editions, but this hypothesis will not cover all the facts of the case.

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April 1539; Nov. 1540; May, Nov. 1541.	April, July 1540.
Is. i. 13, offer me no more oblations.	*therefore* offer me no more oblations.
—— your sabbaths and solemn days.	your sabbaths and *gathering together at the* solemn days.
— 14, *Your fastings are also in vain. I hate your new holy days and fastings, even from my very heart. They make me weary, I cannot abide them.*	*I hate your new moon days and solemn feasts even from my very heart. I can not away with such vanity and holding in of the people. They lie upon me as a burden and I am weary of bearing them*[1].
Neh. vi. 2, *come* that we may.	that we may.

In other parts of the Old Testament this phenomenon is not observed, and the different editions are grouped together without any certain law Thus, for example, the following readings occur:

Prov. xii. 12, of peril. April 1540.	of *all* peril. Nov. 1540. May, Nov. 1541.

[1] In the first three chapters of Isaiah I have noted twenty other passages in which the same groups respectively agree in supporting different readings; and only five in which the November editions differ from 1539. In other parts of the book, as has been seen, the edition of Nov. 1540 follows closely that of April 1540. See p. 246 ff.

Jer. iv. 7, *he* may.	*I* may.	
1539.	Nov. 1540.	
April 1540.		
Nov. 1541.		
— 13, *down.*	*up.*	
1539.	July, Nov. 1540.	
April 1540.		
May 1541.		
— 28, *purposed and* taken upon me.	taken upon me.	
April 1540.	July, Nov. 1540.	
May 1541.	Nov. 1541.	

The New Testament. Revised chiefly by the Latin.

The revision of the New Testament was, like Coverdale's original revision of Tyndale, more independent; and based upon a careful use of the Vulgate and of Erasmus' Latin Version. An analysis of the variations in the first Epistle of St John may furnish a type of its general character. As nearly as I can reckon there are seventy-one differences between Tyndale's text (1534) and that of the Great Bible[1]: of these forty-three come directly from Coverdale's earlier revision (and in a great measure indirectly from the Latin): seventeen from the Vulgate where Coverdale before had not followed it: the remaining eleven variations are

Use of the Vulgate.

[1] The differences between the Great Bible and Matthew are fewer (see p. 233 n. 1), but I have not a complete table of them.

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from other sources. Some of the new readings from the Vulgate are important, as for example the additions in i. 4, 'that *ye may rejoice and that* your 'joy may be full.' ii. 23, '*he that knoweledgeth the* '*Son hath the Father also.*' iii. 1, 'that we should 'be called *and be indeed* the sons of God.' v. 9, 'this is the witness of God *that is greater.*' All these additions (like v. 7) are marked distinctly as *Latin* readings[1]: of the renderings adopted from Coverdale one is very important and holds its place in our present version. iii. 24, '*Hereby* we know 'that *he* abideth in us, *even by* the Spirit which he '*hath given* us,' for which Tyndale reads: '*there-*'*by* we know that *there* abideth in us *of* the 'Spirit which he *gave* us.' One strange blunder also is corrected; 'that old commandment which 'ye *heard*' (as it was in the earlier texts) is replaced by the true reading: 'that old commandment which 'ye have *had*' (ii. 7). No one of the new renderings is of any moment (ii. 8, 18, 19, 20, 22, &c.)

Use of the version of Erasmus.

As an illustration of the influence of Erasmus we may recur to the collation of his differences

[1] One false rendering introduced into this version from the Latin has most unfortunately retained its place in our present Bible: 'there shall be one *fold* 'and one shepherd' (John x. 16), for 'one *flock*' of the earlier translators. The old Latin rightly distinguished between *grex* and *ovile*, but the distinction was lost in the later texts.

from Tyndale in Col. ii.[1] In the following readings, nearly half of those noted, the text of the Great Bible is altered from that of Tyndale (Matthew) to conformity with Erasmus: '1 *for* I would: *how great* '*care*: 2 *when* they are knit together: 6 walk...*so* '*that* ye be rooted and built in him: 11 *forasmuch* 'as ye have put off: 13 *through* sin and *through*... '16 *or* of the new moon: 17 which are shadows: 23 '*by superstition and humbleness, and by hurting of the* '*body*...' Some of these renderings might have been derived independently from the Greek or from the Vulgate; others could not, as we must believe, have occurred to two original interpreters; and when they are taken as a whole there can be no doubt as to their immediate source[2].

The New Testament also revised in 1540.

The New Testament in the Great Bible of 1539 was subject to a revision before the edition of 1540

[1] See pp. 180 f.

[2] One or two other passages may be added in which the Great Bible certainly follows Erasmus:

Luke xix. 42...even in this thy day, *thou wouldest take heed* (Erasm. *curares*).

1 Pet. i. 14...lusts *by which ye were led when as yet ye were* ignorant of Christ (Erasm. *quibus dum adhuc ignoraretis Christum agebamini*).

Col. i. 10...*that* in all things *ye may* please (Erasm. *ut* per omnia *placeatis*).

Col. iii. 9...*seeing that* ye have put off (Erasm. *posteaquam* exuistis). The Latin New Testament of Erasmus was printed with the English of Matthew in 1538. The English Testament of 1540, said to be from the Latin of Erasmus, I have not seen.

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Greater use of Erasmus.

no less than the Old, and the revision was conducted on similar principles. What Münster was for the Old Testament Erasmus was in a great measure for the New. How powerful his influence was in the original recension has been just seen, and the review shews additional traces of the sway which his judgment exercised over Coverdale. One or two examples may be quoted:[1]

	April 1539.	April, Nov. 1540.
Rom.	v. 15, which...was given by one man...	which...was of one man (quæ fuit unius hominis, *Er.*)
—	i. 25, which is blessed for ever.	which is to be praised for ever (qui est laudandus in secula, *Er.*)
Phil.	i. 23, is much better.	is much and far better (multo longeque melius est, *Er.*)
Rev.	xvi. 9, repented not.	repented not of their evil deeds (neque egerunt scelerum pœnitentiam, *Er.*)
—	xxii. 6, the Lord God of Saints and Prophets.	the Lord God of the holy Prophets (Dominus Deus sanctorum prophetarum, *Er.*)

[1] Nearly all the examples given are taken from the list of variations in Mr Fry's treatise on the Great Bibles. By using these for the analysis all suspicion of partial selection is removed.

No change perhaps is more remarkable than that in the difficult and famous passage of St James[1]:

April 1539.	May, Nov. 1540.
James i. 13, For God cannot tempt unto evil, because he tempteth no man.	For as God cannot be tempted with evil, so neither he himself tempt the [tempteth] any man. (*Nam Deus ut malis tentari non potest, ita nec ipse quemquam tentat. Er.*)

Of the Vulgate.

In other cases the revision follows the Vulgate (with Erasmus) where the original text had deserted it, as for example:

April 1539.	April, Nov. 1540.
Rom. iv. 25, for to justify us.	for our justification.
Gal. i. 10, Do I now speak unto men or unto God? Either go I about to please...	Do I now persuade men or God? Either do I seek to please...
Eph. ii. 12, and had no hope and were without...	having no hope and being without...

Sometimes the turn given to the rendering appears to be original, as

Rom. i. 6, that are called of...	the elect of...

[1] See Fulke, *Defence of the English Translations*, pp. 559 f. (ed. P. S.).

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Phil. i. 10, as hurt no man's conscience. — as offend no man.

Of the Complutensian Polyglott.

But next to Erasmus the Complutensian edition contributed most largely to the changes in the revision. Thus in the Revelation the following new readings are taken from this source:

April 1539.	April, Nov. 1540.
x. 6, omit (1).	(*and the earth and the things that therein are*).
xi. 15, for evermore (2).	for evermore (*Amen*).
xii. 4, the stars (3).	the stars (*of heaven*).
— 9, also (4).	also (*with him*).
— 10, For *he* is (5).	For (*the accuser of our brethren*) is.
xv. 2, *and of his mark* (6).	omit.
xviii. 12, iron (7).	iron (*and marble*).
— 23, omit (8).	(*and candle light shall be no more burning in the*).
xxi. 16, measured the city with the reed (9).	measured the city with the (*golden*) reed.
xxii. 9, the sayings of this book (10).	the sayings of (*the prophecy of*) this book [1].

In one respect the Great Bible has an import-

[1] This list includes only a few very obvious differences, and makes no pretensions to completeness even in the chapters quoted. It is remarkable that all the readings are marked as Latin readings, though 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 are in the Greek text.

Mr Offor has collected all the 'interpolations' (Latin readings) found in the Great Bibles in his MS. collections for the history of the Bible (Brit. Mus. *Add.* 26,670, pp. 209 ff.).

The Psalter of the Prayer Book taken from the Great Bible.

ant and lasting interest for us: the Psalter which is incorporated in the Prayer Book is taken from it. In the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. reference is made 'to the Great English Bible' for the numbers of the Psalms as appointed to be read in the daily services which were necessarily taken from it, and from that time the Psalter used in churches has continued unchanged. No attempt seems to have been made to substitute the Psalter of the Bishops' Bible for that of the Great Bible; and when, upon the last revision of the Prayer Book (1662), it was directed that the other lessons from Scripture should be taken from the royal Version, a special exception was made in favour of the Psalter. The choirs and congregations had grown familiar with it, and it was felt to be 'smoother 'and more easy to sing[1].'

Characteristics of this Psalter.

A very slight comparison of the Psalter in the Prayer Book with that in the Bible will shew from what this acknowledged smoothness springs. Apart

[1] The exception was not made without an effort. The bishops concede 'that the Psalms be 'collated with the former trans-'lation mentioned in rubr. '[?Great Bible], and printed ac-'cording to it' (Cardwell, *Hist. of Conf.* 362). The question was again raised in 1689, and it was left to the convocation to decide whether the Authorised Version should be inserted in the Prayer Book or the revision 'made by 'the Bishop of St Asaph and Dr 'Kidder' (*id.* 432).

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from the partial correction of errors in translation the later version will be seen to be distinguished from the earlier by a scrupulous fidelity to the Hebrew text. Coverdale, like Luther and the Zurich translators on whose model his style was formed, allowed himself considerable freedom in dealing with the shape of the original sentences. At one time a word is repeated to bring out the balance of two clauses: at another time the number is changed: at another time a fuller phrase is supplied for the simple copula, now a word is resolved, and again a particle or an adverb or a pronoun or even an epithet is introduced for the sake of definiteness: there is in every part an endeavour to transfuse the spirit as well as the letter into the English rendering. The execution of the version undoubtedly falls far below the conception of it: the Authorised Version is almost in every case more correct: but still in idea and tone Coverdale's is as a whole superior, and furnishes a noble type for any future revision.

Comparison of the two Psalters.

One or two examples will illustrate these general remarks. The materials for extending the comparison are accessible to all, and nothing throws more light on the actual history of our Bible[1].

[1] I have not ascertained from what text of the Great Bible the

Prayer Book.	Authorised Version.	*Ps. xix.*
1 The heavens declare the glory of God: and the firmament sheweth his handywork.	The heavens declare the glory of God: and the firmament sheweth his handywork.	
2 *One* day *telleth another:* and *one* night *certifieth another.*	*Day unto* day *uttereth speech:* and night *unto night sheweth knowledge.*	
3 There is *neither* speech nor language: *but* their *voices are* heard *among them.*	There is *no* speech nor language: *where* their *voice is* not heard.	
4 Their *sound* is gone out[1] *into* all *lands:* and their words *into* the *ends* of the world.	Their *line* is gone out *through* all *the earth:* and their words *to* the *end* of the world.	
5 In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun: which *cometh forth* as a bridegroom out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a *giant* to run *his course.*	In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun: which *is* as a bridegroom *coming* out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a *strong man* to run *a race.*	
6 *It goeth* forth from the *uttermost part* of the heaven, and *runneth about* unto the *end* of it *again:* and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof.	*His going* forth *is* from the *end* of the heaven, and *his circuit* unto the *ends* of it: and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof.	

Psalter was taken. It contains the latest changes which I have noticed. See p. 243, n. 2.

[1] Om. *out* Nov. 1540.

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7 The law of the Lord is *an undefiled law*, converting the soul:
the testimony of the Lord is sure, *and giveth wisdom unto* the simple.
8 The statutes of the Lord are right, *and rejoice* the heart:
the commandment of the Lord is pure, *and giveth light unto* the eyes.
9 The fear of the Lord is clean, *and endureth* for ever:
the judgments of the Lord are true, and righteous altogether.
10 More to be desired are they than gold, yea than much fine gold:
sweeter also than honey and the honey-comb[1].
11 Moreover by them is thy servant *taught:*
and in keeping of them there is great reward.
12 Who can *tell how oft he offendeth:*

The law of the Lord is *perfect*, converting the soul:
the testimony of the Lord is sure, *making wise* the simple.
The statutes of the Lord are right, *rejoicing* the heart:
the commandment of the Lord is pure, *enlightening* the eyes.
The fear of the Lord is clean, *enduring* for ever:
the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.
More to be desired are they than gold, yea than much fine gold:
sweeter also than honey and the honey-comb.
Moreover by them is thy servant *warned:*
and in keeping of them there is great reward.
Who can *understand his errors?*

[1] The honey-comb and the honey. Nov. 1540, 1541.

O cleanse thou me from *my* secret faults.

13 Keep thy servant also from presumptuous sins, *lest they get the* dominion over me:
so shall I be *undefiled* and innocent from the great *offence.*

14 Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart:
be *alway* acceptable in thy sight,
15 O Lord, my strength and my redeemer.

1 Why do the heathen *so furiously* rage *together:*
and *why do* the people imagine a vain thing?
10 Be wise now therefore, O ye kings:
be *learned,* ye *that are* judges of the earth.
11 Serve the Lord *in* fear:
and rejoice *unto him* with *reverence.*
12 Kiss the son, lest he be angry, and *so* ye perish from the *right* way:

cleanse thou me from secret faults.
Keep *back* thy servant also from presumptuous sins;
let them not have dominion over me: *Ps. xix.*
Then shall I be *upright,*
and *I shall be* innocent from the great *transgression.*
Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart:
be acceptable in thy sight,
O Lord, my strength and my redeemer.
Why do the heathen rage: *Ps. ii.*
and the people imagine a vain thing?

Be wise now therefore, O ye kings:
be *instructed,* ye judges of the earth.
Serve the Lord *with* fear:
and rejoice with *trembling.*
Kiss the son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way:

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if his wrath *be* kindled, (*yea*, but a little) blessed are all they that put their trust in him.

Ps. lxxviii. 16 He clave the *hard* rocks in the wilderness:
and gave them drink *thereof*, as *it had been* out of the great *depth*.
17 He brought *waters* out the *stony* rock:
so that it gushed out like *the* rivers.
18 *Yet for all this* they sinned more against him:
and provoked the most *Highest* in the wilderness.

when his wrath *is* kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him.

He clave the rocks in the wilderness:
and gave them drink as out of
the great *depths*.
He brought *streams also* out of the rock:
and caused waters to run down like rivers.
And they sinned *yet* more against him:
by provoking the most *High* in the wilderness[1].

[1] The Books are arranged in the following order in Crumwell's Bible (April 1539):
The Pentateuch.
The second part of the Bible: Josua...Esther, Job.
The third part of the Bible: The Psalter...Cantica Canticorum. The Prophets: Esay...Malachy.
The volume of the books called Hagiographa: 3 Esdr. 4 Esdr....Baruch...1 Mach. 2 Mach.
The New Testament:
The four Gospels. Acts.
The Epistles of Saint Paul: Romans.....Philemon, Hebrews.
Epistle of St James.
1, 2 St Peter.
1, 2, 3 St John.
St Jude.
The Revelation.
In the list (but not in the text) Jude is placed before 1 John.

The order is the same in Cranmer's Bible (April 1540), and in Tunstall's and Heath's (Nov. 1540); but in Tunstall and Heath the Preface to the Apocrypha is left out, and the reverse of the title-page to that division of the book is consequently blank.

§ 5. Taverner.

Taverner's revision of the Old Testament superficial.

The work of Taverner is very different from that of any of the revisers noticed before, and stamped with a very distinct individuality. Its character might be anticipated from the description of the man himself which has been already quoted[1]. Throughout he appears to aim at vigorous and idiomatic language, and his New Testament at least deserves more attention than has yet been paid to it. Probably he undertook this part of the work, for which his scholarship fitted him, first, and only afterwards extended his labours to the Old Testament, for which he had no special aptitude. As far as I have observed he used no help but the Vulgate in the Old Testament, and this only partially[2]. But scarcely a page perhaps will fail to shew changes which are made for the sake of clearness and force. Thus '*the child* of death' becomes '*worthy* of death' (2 Sam. xii. 5): 'of mine own *mind*' is altered to 'of mine own *head*' (Num. xvi. 28): 'but *and* if' is made simply 'but if': 'like *as* a branch' simply 'like a branch', and so on. But in a passage like Is. liii. 1—5,

[1] See supr. p. 111.

[2] A good example occurs Josh. xxiv. 27, 'lest that after this time 'ye will deny and lie unto your 'God.'

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where Coverdale is greatly at fault, he introduces no real change in the text before him[1].

His revision of the New Testament more important.

In the New Testament Taverner aims equally at compression and vividness, but he was familiar with the original, and therefore could deal more happily with the translation of Tyndale, which still, like Coverdale, he followed very closely. A few verses will shew the method which he followed. Thus in the beginning of St John's Gospel for '*the same*' he reads '*this*' (i. 2, 7), for to '*bear witness*' simply '*witness*' (7, 15); for Tyndale's '*verity*' he writes '*truth*' (14); for Tyndale's 'confessed and 'denied not, and *said plainly*' he repeats the first word as in the Greek 'confessed and denied not 'and *confessed*' (20). Sometimes in his anxiety to keep to the Greek text he becomes even obscure or inaccurate, as '*all were* made by it' (2), 'to be 'made the sons of God *believing* on his name' (12), '*into* his own' (11), 'he was *first ere I was*' (15). But he introduced substantial improvements into

[1] In Mr Offor's MS. collections for a history of the English Bible (Brit. Mus. 26,670—3) there is a collation of Tyndale's Pentateuch (1537, 1549) with Taverner (1539, 1551), Vol. II. pp. 153—158. The same MS. contains also a collation of Tyndale's Pentateuchs of 1530, 1534 with one another and also with Matthew and Coverdale. Matthew appears to follow the edition of 1530 almost without exception: Coverdale, generally that of 1534. I have not however verified the collations.

the translation by his regard for the article: 'that 'was *the* true light (*a* tr. l. *Tynd.*) which...coming 'into...' (9): 'Art thou *the* Prophet?' (21, 25): 'I 'am *a* voice of one crying...' (23). Two consecutive verses of the first Epistle of St John furnish good examples of his endeavour to find English equivalents for the terms before him. All the other versions adopt the Latin '*advocate*' in 1 John ii. 1, for which Taverner substitutes the Saxon '*spokesman*.' Tyndale, followed by Coverdale, the Great Bible, &c. strives after an adequate rendering of ἱλασμὸς (1 John ii. 2), in the awkward periphrasis 'he *it is that obtaineth grace* for our sins': Taverner boldly coins a word which if insufficient is yet worthy of notice: 'he is *a mercystock* for our sins.'

It would be tempting to dwell longer on this version, but it appears to have exercised no influence whatever on the later revisions. It remains simply as a monument of one man's critical power, and in the very sharp personality of its characteristics is alien from the general history of the English Bible.

§ 6. The Genevan Bible.

The character of the Genevan revision.

The foundations of the English Bible were laid by exiles in a strange country; and exiles contri-

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buted the most important revision which it underwent before the final settlement of the received text. Under the influence of Calvin, Geneva had become the seat of a society of devoted Biblical students, and the results of their labours were made available for the review of the English version by the Marian persecution. The more conservative party among the refugees might have scrupled to use them without reserve, but no such feeling could hold back the seceders from Frankfurt. For the first time the task of emendation was undertaken by men who were ready to press it to the uttermost. They spoke of their position as providential, and in looking back upon the later results of their Bible we can thankfully acknowledge that it was so. They enjoyed, as they say in their preface, many advantages over earlier labourers whose renderings 'required greatly to be perused 'and reformed.' 'Not,' they add, 'that we vindi-'cate anything to ourselves above the least of our 'brethren, for God knoweth with what fear and 'trembling we have been now (April 1560) for the 'space of two years and more day and night occu-'pied herein, but being earnestly desired. ...and 'seeing the great opportunity and occasions which 'God presented unto us in this Church, by reason of

'so many and godly men and such diversity of 'translations in divers tongues, we undertook this 'great and wonderful work, which our God accord-'ing to his divine providence hath directed to a 'most prosperous end.'

New Latin Versions.

Some important versions indeed had been published in addition to those which have been noticed already as accessible to the first translators. Leo Juda, who had contributed greatly to the German Bible of Zurich, laboured for many years at a new Latin Version of the Old Testament. This was left unfinished at his death (1542), but the work was completed by T. Bibliander and C. Pellican. P. Cholin added a translation of the Apocrypha: R. Gualther revised Erasmus' Latin New Testament; and the whole Bible, thus finished, was printed in 1544. The version is vigorous, aiming rather at an intelligible sense, than at a literal rendering of the words of the original. Castalio (Chateillon) carried this freedom to a far greater length, and in his singularly elegant version (1551) endeavoured to make the Hebrew writers speak in purely classical Latin. In spite of Beza's vehement assaults Castalio exercised some effect on later Protestant versions; but the New Testament of his great adversary (1556) exercised a far more power-

Leo Juda.

Castalio.

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Beza.

ful influence than either of these complete Bibles. Beza made some use of the various readings of Greek Manuscripts which had been collected in a convenient form by Stephens in his Greek Testament of 1550 (ed. regia); but as yet, in spite of the great advances which had been made in scholarship, the true principles of Greek criticism were wholly unknown, and the text which served as the basis of translation was as faulty as before.

Revision of the French Version.

These Latin versions, especially Beza's New Testament, contributed important help to the English revisers; but it was of still greater moment that they were associated at Geneva with a group of scholars who were already engaged in the work of correcting the French Version of Olivetan. As early as 1545 Calvin cursorily revised this Bible, chiefly, as it is said, in points of style and expression. In 1551 he went over the work again more thoroughly; and again in 1558. The edition of 1551 contained a new version of the Psalter by L. Budé and of the Apocrypha by Beza. But these successive revisions were confessedly provisional, and it was not till 1588 that the version appeared which, bearing the name 'of the venerable 'company of pastors at Geneva,' remained for a

long time the standard Bible of the French protestants[1].

General character of the Genevan Version of the Old Testament.

Thus the English exiles found themselves surrounded by those who were engaged in a task similar to their own[2]. They started indeed with a far better foundation than the French revisers, and their labours shew no impatient desire for change. In the historical books they preserved in the main the old rendering, altering here and there an antiquated word or a long periphrasis[3]. In the Hagiographa, the Prophets, and the poetic books of the Apocrypha, the changes were necessarily far more numerous. An analysis of the new readings in a few representative passages will place the general character of the revision in a clear light[4].

(GREAT BIBLE). 5 *And* in Gibeon the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream by night, and *1 Kings iii.*

[1] For these details I am indebted to Le Long, as I have been unable to obtain access to the editions of 1545 and 1551.

[2] A revised Italian version of the Bible appeared also at Geneva in 1562.

[3] A small sign will shew the scholar's instinct, and this is found in the spelling and *accentuation* of the Hebrew names which is characteristic of the edition of 1560 as Iaakób, Izhák, Rebekáh, Joshúa, Zebulún, Abimélech, &c. Mr Aldis Wright called my attention to this significant peculiarity.

[4] The text of the Great Bible is taken from the edition of 155c, which the revisers were most likely to use. The words altered in the Genevan version are italicized: those substituted for them are given afterwards.

God said, Ask what *thou wilt that I may give it* thee.

6 And Solomon said, Thou hast shewed unto thy servant David my father great mercy, when he walked before thee in truth, *in* righteousness, and in *plainness* of heart with thee. And thou hast kept for him this great mercy, *that thou* hast given him a son to sit on his seat, as *it is come to pass* this day.

7 And now, O Lord my God, *it is thou that* hast made thy servant king instead of David my father; and I am but *young* and *wot* not how to go out and in.

8 And thy servant is in the midst of thy people, which thou hast chosen, *and verily the people are so many that they* cannot be told nor numbered for multitude.

9 Give therefore unto thy servant an understanding heart to judge *the* people, that I may discern between good and bad; for who is able to judge this, thy *so mighty a* people.

10 And this pleased the Lord well that Solomon had desired this thing.

5 *and:* om. So Pagninus, French 1556. visus*que* Münster. *autem* Leo Juda. (1)

5 *thou...it* (so M.) : *I shall give.* Postula quod dem tibi J. (2)

6 *in* (M. J.) *and in* P. Fr. (3)

— *plainness : uprightness* rectitudine P. M. J. d'vn cœur droit enuers toy Fr. (4)

— *that thou* (ut M. J.) : *and* P. (5)

— *it...pass : appeareth* (in ital.) il appert Fr (secundum diem hanc P. ut est dies hæc M. ut hæc dies declarat J.) (6)

7 *it...that : thou* tu m'as fait regner Fr. (similarly P. M. J.) (7)

— young : *a* young *child.* puer parvus P. M. J. un petit iouuenceau Fr. (8)

— *wot : know.* (9)

8 *and verily...they : even a great people which...* populi multi qui non... P. et quidem populus est multus M. J. qui est vn grand peuple qui... Fr. (10)

9 *the : thy* ton peuple Fr. (so P. M. J.) (11)

— *so mighty a : mighty.* (12)

Of these twelve changes one seems to come from the French (6), two are different readings adopted from Pagninus (1, 3), seven are renderings closer to the Hebrew, chiefly from Pagninus (2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11), and two are simply linguistic changes (9, 12).

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In a passage from Job there is on the other hand considerable originality.

Job xix.

(GREAT BIBLE). 23 O that my words were now written: O that they were *put* in a book.

24 *Would God they were* graven with an iron pen in lead or in stone *to continue.*

25 For I am sure that my Redeemer liveth, and *that I shall rise out of the earth at the latter day:*

26 *That I shall be clothed again with this skin, and* see God in my flesh.

27 *Yea I myself shall behold him, not with other, but with these same eyes.*

28 *My reins* are consumed within me: *Did not ye say:* Why *doth he suffer persecution? Is there found an occasion in me?*

23 *put: written even* describerentur. P. exarentur J. (1)

24 *Would...were* (utinam P.): *and* stilo*que* J. (2)

— *to continue: for ever.* ut sint in perpetuum P. M. quo perpetuo durent J. (3)

25 *That I...day: and he shall stand the last on the earth.* (novissimus resurget de pulvere. M. alternative rendering). (4)

26 *That...and see: and though after my skin* worms *destroy this* body, *yet shall I* see (et postquam pellem meam contritam vermes contriverunt hanc carnem et de carne mea videbo deum P. Et postquam corroserint (vermes) corpus istud videbo deum de carne mea M.: otherwise J. (5)

27 *Whom I myself shall see and mine eyes shall behold and no other* for me (quam ego visurus sum mihi, et oculi mei videbunt et non alienus P. Similarly M. and J.) (6)

28 *my reins:* through *my reins.* (none). (7)

— *did...say: But ye said.* (none). (8)

— *doth...persecution: Why is he persecuted?* (ob quid patitur persecutionem M.) (9)

— *Is there...in me: And there was a deep matter in me.* (none) (10)

Throughout these verses the French rendering is widely different; and of the ten changes introduced into the text of the Great Bible three of considerable importance are apparently original (7, 8, 10). Of the remainder one perhaps comes from the version of Leo Juda (2), three from Pagninus (1, 5, 6), and two from Münster (4, 9).

The revision of the Prophets is similar in kind

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to that of the historical books though the changes are far more numerous:

Is. ix.

(GREAT BIBLE). 2 The people that *walk* in darkness have seen a great light. *As for them that dwell* in the land of the shadow of death upon them hath the light shined.

3 Thou hast multiplied the *people* and not increased their joy: they *rejoice* before thee *even as men make merry* in harvest, and as men *that have gotten the victory* when they *deal* the spoil.

4 *For thou hast broken the* yoke of *the people's* burden: *the* staff of *his* shoulder and the rod of *his oppressor,* as in the *days* of Midian.

5 *And truly* every battle *that the warrior accomplisheth is done with confused* noise, and *defiling their* garments *with* blood; but *this battle* shall be with burning and *consuming* of fire.

6 For unto us a child is born, and unto us a son is given. *Upon his shoulder doth the kingdom lie,* and *he is called with his own name:* wonderful, *the giver of counsel,* the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace.

7 *He shall make no end to increase the kingdom, and peace, and shall* sit upon the *seat* of David, and *in* his kingdom, to *set up the same,* and to stablish it with *equity* and *righteousness* from henceforth *for* evermore.

2 *walk* (M. J.) : *walked* P. (1)
— *as...dwell : they that dwelt* habitantibus P. J. (2)
3 *people* : *nation* gentem P. M. J. (3)
— *rejoice : have rejoiced.* lætati sunt P. M. J. (4)
— *even...merry : according to the joy* secundum lætitiam P. M. (5)
— *that...victory : rejoice* quemadmodum (sicut M.) exultant P. M. J. (6)
— *deal : divide.* (7)
4 *For thou...the : for the.* (8)
— *the peoples* : *their* ejus P. M. J. (9)
— the (P.) : *and the* M. J. (10)
— *his : their* (bis) (11)
— *oppressor : oppressor hast thou broken.* (8)
— *days : day* P. M. (temporibus J). (12)
5 *and truly : surely* (equidem J.) (13)
— *that...accomplisheth* (quod fit per præliantem M.) : *of the warrior* profligantis J. (14)
— *is...confused* (fit strepitu tumultuoso J.) : *is with* so P. M. (15)
5 *defiling their : with tumbling of* volutatione vest. M. J. (16)
— *with : in.* So M. J. (17)
— *this battle* (hoc vero bellum M.) : *this* (ital.) (18)
— *consuming : devouring* devoratione M. J. (19)
6 *Upon..... lie : and the government is upon his*

shoulder fuit (factus est M.) principatus super humerum ejus P. M. otherwise J. (20)

6 *he is...name: he shall call his name.* (none) (21)

— *the giver of counsel*: *Counsellor* consiliarius P. M. J. Conseillier Fr. (22)

7 *He shall...peace: The increase of* his *government and peace shall have none end* (Multiplicatio principatus et pax ipsa (erunt) absque fine M.) (23)

— *and* shall: *he* shall so J. (24)

— *seat: throne* so P. M. J. (25)

— *in: upon* so P. M. J. (26)

— *set...same: order it* ut disponat M. (27)

— *equity: judgment* judicio P. M. J. jugement Fr. (28)

— *righteousness: justice* justitia P. M. J. justice Fr. (29)

— *for:* even *for* et usque P. M. (30)

Of these thirty alterations by far the largest part is due to the desire of greater literality: no less than thirteen can be traced to Pagninus (1—6, 9, 12, 15, 22, 26, 30), five to Münster (16, 17, 19, 23, 27), three perhaps to Leo Juda (13, 14, 24), two are original (18, 21). There is one new reading (10), and six changes are linguistic (7, 8, 11, 25, 28, 29).

In the Apocryphal books the influence of the French translation, which was due as we have seen to Beza, is unmistakeable. One example may suffice:

Great Bible, 1550.	Geneva, 1560.	French Bible (Lyons) 1556[1].
15 God hath granted me to *talk wisely and conveniently to handle the things that he hath graciously lent me;* for *it is he that leadeth* unto wisdom, and *teacheth to use wisdom aright.*	God hath granted me to *speak according to my mind and to judge worthily of the things that are given* me: for *he is the leader* unto wisdom and *the director of the wise.*	Et Dieu m'ha donné *de parler à ma volunté, et de presumer choses dignes de celles qui me sont donnees*: car *cestui est le conducteur* de sapience et *le correcteur des sages.* *Wisd. vii.*
16 In his hand are both we and our words; *yea* all *our* wisdom, *our understanding* and knowledge of *all our* works.	*For* in his hand are both we and our words, *and* all wisdom *and the* knowledge of *the* works.	*Car* nous sommes en la main d'icelui, nous et noz paroles, et aussi toute sapience, *et discipline des œuures* de science.
17 For he hath given me the true *science* of *these* things, so that I know how the	For he hath given me the true *knowledge* of *the* things *that are,* so that I know how	Car cestui m'ha donné la vraye *science* des choses *qui sont:* à fin que ie sache la dispo-

[1] I have endeavoured to preserve the original spelling.

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Great Bible, 1550.	Geneva, 1560.	French Bible (Lyons), 1556.
world was made and the powers of the elements,	the world was made and the powers of the elements,	sition de toute la terre et les vertus des elemens,
18 the beginning, ending and midst of the times; *how the times alter; how one goeth after another and how they are fulfilled,*	The beginning *and the* end and *the* midst of the times: how the times alter, *and the change of the seasons*, the course of the year, the *situation* of the stars,	le commencement, *la* consommation et *le* milieu des temps, changemens des mutations, *et les diuisions des temps*, les decours des annees, les *dispositions* des estoilles,
19 The course of the year, the *ordinances* of the stars,		
20 the nature *and kinds of beasts;* the furiousness of beasts, the power of the winds, the imaginations of men, the diversities of *young* plants, the virtues of roots, and all *such* things *as are secret and not looked for*, have I learnt; for *the workmaster of all things hath*	the nature *of living things, and* the furiousness of beasts, the power of the winds, and the imaginations of men, the diversities of plants, *and* the virtues of roots; and all things *both secret and known* do I know, for *wisdom the worker of all things hath taught*	les natures *des animaux, et* les courroux des bestes, la force des vents, et les cogitations des hommes, les differences des plantes *et* les vertus des racines, et ay apprins toutes choses *secrettes et manifestes.* Car *l'ouurier de toutes choses m'ha enseigné par sapience*[1]...

[1] The revision of 1588 has as a marginal rendering 'car la Sapience qui est l'ouvrier de toutes choses m'a enseigné.'

GREAT BIBLE, 1550.	GENEVA, 1560.	FRENCH BIBLE. (Lyons) 1556.
taught me wisdom ...	*me it*...	
27 And *for so much as she is* one, she *may* do all things, and *being stedfast* herself she reneweth all, and *among the people conveyeth she herself* into the holy souls. She maketh God's friends and prophets,	And *being* one she [wisdom] *can* do all things and *remaining in* herself reneweth all, and *according to the ages, she entereth* into the holy souls *and maketh them the friends of God* and prophets.	Et *combien qu'elle soit* seule, elle *peult* toutes choses, et *estant* en soy *permanente*, elle renouuelle toutes choses, et *par les nations descendant* es saintes ames, *elle ordonne les amis de Dieu* et les prophetes.
28 for God loveth *no man but him in whom wisdom dwelleth.*	For God loveth *none, if he dwell not with wisdom.*	Car Dieu *n'* ayme *personne fors que celui qui habite auec sapience.*
29 For she is more beautiful than the sun, and *giveth more light than* the stars, and the *day* is not to be compared unto her,	For she is more beautiful than the sun, and *is above all the order of* the stars, and the *light* is not to be compared to her;	Car icelle est plus belle que le soleil et *par dessus toute la disposition* des estoilles, elle comparee à *la lumiere* est trouuee la premiere :
30 For *upon the day cometh night,* but wickedness	For *night cometh upon it,* but wickedness cannot	car *à ceste succede la nuict,* mais malice ne vaincra

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Great Bible, 1550.	Geneva, 1560.	French Bible, (Lyons) 1556.
cannot overcome wisdom; *and foolishness may not be with her.*	overcome wisdom.	point sapience.

The English Version influenced the later French one of 1588.

Conversely the same books shew that the English version influenced the later French revision:

Wisd. viii.

Lyons, 1556.	Geneva, 1560.	Geneva, 1588.
I'estoye aussi vn enfant ingenieux et *auoye d'auenture trouué vne bonne ame.*	*For* I was a witty child, and *was of a good spirit.*	*Or* estoy-ie aussi vn enfant ingenieux et *m' estoit escheute vne bonne ame: ou plutost, estant bon, i'estoye venu en* vn corps sans souillure. Quand *donc* i'eu cognu *que ie n' en pourroy iouïr*, si Dieu ne me *la* donnoi, et que cela mesme estoit *prudence* de sauoir de qui estoit ce don, ie m' en allai *supplier le* Seigneur et le priai *disant* de tout mon cœur...
Mais estant vn peu meilleur ie *vins à* vn corps sans souillure. *Et* quand ie congnu *que autrement ne pouuoye estre continent* si Dieu ne *le* donnoit, et que celà mesmes estoit *soueraine sapience* de sauoir de qui estoit ce don: ie m'en allay *au* seigneur et le priay *et lui dis* de tout mon cœur...	*Yea rather being good*, I *came to* an undefiled body. *Nevertheless* when I perceived *that I could not enjoy her* except God gave *her* (and that was *a point of wisdom* also to know whose gift it was) I went *unto* the Lord, and besought him *and* with my whole heart *said*...	

Summary of the characteristics of the revision of the Old Testament.

The examples which have been given exhibit very fairly the method of revision which was adopted by the Genevan translators in the Old Testament. In all parts they took the Great Bible as their basis and corrected its text, without ever substituting for it a new translation. Even where the changes are greatest the original foundation can still be traced, and the new work fairly harmonizes with the old. One chief aim of the revisers seems to have been to make the translation as nearly verbal as possible, and consequently in a great number of passages they replace the renderings of the Zurich scholars (Coverdale) or Münster by those of Pagninus. At the same time there is abundant evidence to shew that they were perfectly competent to deal independently with points of Hebrew scholarship; and minute changes in expression shew that they were not indifferent to style.

The revision of the New Testament based mainly on Beza.

The history of the Genevan New Testament is simpler than that of the Old. It is little more than the record of the application of Beza's translation and commentary to Tyndale's Testament in three successive stages, first in the separate New Testament of 1557, next in the Bible of 1560, and lastly in the New Testament of L. Tomson in

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1576[1]. The revisers undoubtedly exercised an independent judgment in following his renderings. They did not adopt all the alterations which he suggested; and at times they introduced original phrases; but by far the greater part of the changes which were made in the text of Tyndale were simply due to Beza[2].

The changes in 1 John.

An analysis of the changes in one short Epistle will render this plain. Thus according to as accurate a calculation as I can make more than two-thirds of the new renderings in 1 John introduced into the revision of 1560 are derived from Beza, and two-thirds of these then for the first time. The rest are due mainly to the revisers themselves[3], and of these only two are found in the revision of 1557. Tomson adds barely five or six

[1] Tomson's New Testament presents the fullest form of Beza's influence. One peculiarity is characteristic of Tomson alone. In his anxiety to express the emphatic force of the Greek article he consistently renders it by 'that' or 'this,' and in many cases the effect is almost grotesque. One example will suffice: 'He that hath *that* Son hath '*that* life: and he that hath not '*that* Son of God hath not *that* 'life' (1 John v. 12).

[2] The basis of the Genevan Testament was certainly Tyndale's (the last text, *i.e.* Matthew) and not the Great Bible. See for instance Gal. i. 10, 14, 15, 19, 21: ii. 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, &c. The corresponding coincidences of the Genevan Testament with the Great Bible against Tyndale are very few: Gal. i. 9, 12: ii. 4.

[3] The most striking are: ii. 18, 19, 20, 29: iv. 5: v. 6.

closer approximations to Beza, of which one is important (v. 4 'hath overcome'); and once he definitely goes against him (iv. 9 'Herein was that love 'of God made manifest *amongst* us').

The general conclusion thus indicated will be made still clearer by an examination of two short continuous passages. The differences between the first New Testament and the New Testament in the Bible (1560) will thus appear, and it will be seen that the revision in the latter extended to points of language as well as to points of interpretation[1]:

(TYNDALE, 1534.) 12 *Remember, I say, that ye were at* that time without Christ, and were *reputed* aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and were strangers[2] from the *testaments* of promise, and had no hope and were without God in *this* world. *Eph. ii.*

13 But now in Christ *Jesu* ye which *a while ago*[3] were far off are made *nigh* by the blood of Christ.

[1] It is very greatly to be regretted that the New Testament of 1557 and not the New Testament of the Bible has been reprinted in Bagster's Hexapla as the Genevan version. The confusion which has resulted from this error of judgment has led to endless mistakes in discussions on the authorised version. The Testament of 1557 has had no independent influence on the A.V. as far as I can see.

[2] The Great Bible reads: being aliens from...and strangers...

[3] sometime (GB.)

14 For he is our peace which hath made of both one and hath *broken down the wall that was a stop between us,*

15 *and hath also put away* through his flesh the *cause of* hatred, that is *to say* the law[1] of commandments *contained in the law written,* for to make of twain one new man in himself, so making peace,

16 and *to* reconcile both unto God in one body *through* his cross, and *slew* hatred thereby;

17 and came and preached peace to you which were afar off and to them that were *nigh;*

18 for through him we both have an *open way in, in one spirit unto the Father.*

12 *Remember...at* 1557: *that ye were* I say G. T.[2] (*vos* inquam...*fuisse* B.) (1)

— *reputed* 1557: om. G. T. (so B.) (2)

— *testaments: covenants* 1557 G. T. (fœderibus B) (3)

— *this* 1557: *the* G. T. (in mundo B.) (4)

[1] even the law (GB.)

[2] The Testament of 1557 is marked by the date and quoted from Bagster's Hexapla: G represents the first edition of the Bible 1560: T, Tomson's Testament quoted from the Bible of 1516. The rendering of Beza is marked B. G gives the following words in italics: Eph. ii. I say, were 4°; 15 that is, which standeth, so; 16 his. Rev. ii. 9 I know, are 2°.

13 *Jesu: Jesus* 1557 G. T. (5)
— *a...ago: once* 1557 G. T. (olim B.) (6)
— *nigh* 1557: *near* G. T. (7)
— *the blood* I say *of Christ* 1557. B. omits *I say.* (8)
14 *broken...as: broken the stop of the partition wall* 1557 G. T. (intergerini parietis septum B.) (9)
15 *and...away: in abrogating* 1557 G. T. (inimicitiis...abolitis B.) (10)
— *cause of* om. 1557 G. T. (so B.) (11)
— *to say* 1557: om. G. T. (so B.) (12)
— *contained...written:* which standeth *in ceremonies* (*ordinances* G. T.) 1557 G. T. (quæ in ritibus posita est B.) (13)
16 *to: that he might* 1557 G. T. (ut conderet... et reconciliaret B.) (14)
— *through: by* 1557 G. T. (per B.) (15)
— *slew: slay* 1537 G. T. (16)
17 *nigh* (*and nigh* 1557): *near* G. T. (17)
18 *open way in, in* (*by* 1557): *entrance* (so Great Bible) *unto the Father by one Spirit* G. T. aditum per unum Spiritum ad Patrem B. (18)

Thus it will be seen that the Testament (1557)

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differs from the Bible (1560) in nine places, half of the whole number (1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 12, 13, 17, 18), and of these variations two are of considerable importance (2, 17). In one case the Bible deserts Beza where the Testament followed him (13), one change is simply linguistic (7), but in the other seven cases the Bible is supported by Beza. Of the remaining nine changes common to the Testament and Bible five are in accordance with Beza (3, 9, 11, 14, 15), one is perhaps independent of him (6), and the remaining three are changes of expression (5, 10, 16). In this passage Tomson agrees with the Bible.

Rev. ii. (TYNDALE, 1534.) 8 And unto the angel of the congregation of *Smyrna* write: These things saith he that is first and *the* last, which was dead and is alive.

9 I know thy works and tribulation and poverty, but thou art rich; and I know the blasphemy of them which *call themselves* Jews and are not, but are the *congregation* of Satan.

10 Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer. Behold *the devil* shall cast *of* you into prison *to tempt you*, and ye shall have tribulation ten days. *Be* faithful unto the death and I will give thee *a* crown of life.

11 Let him that hath *cars* hear what the spirit saith to the *congregations:* He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death.

8 *Smyrna: the Smyrnians* 1557 G. T. (Smyrnæorum B.) (1)
— *the:* om. 1557 G. T. (2)
9 *call themselves* 1557: *say they are* G. T. (se dicunt...esse B.) (3)
— *congregation: synagogue* 1557 G. T. (synagoga B.) (4)
10 *the devil: it shall come to pass that the d.* 1557 G. T. (futurum est ut...B.) (5)
— *of: some of* (so Great Bible) 1557 G. T. (6)
— *to...you: that ye may be tried* 1557 G. T. (ut exploremini B) (7)
— *be* 1557: *be thou* G. T. (8)
— *a: the* 1557 G. T. (9)
11 *cars: an ear* 1557 G. T. (aurem B.) (10)
— *congregations: churches* 1557 G. T. (ecclesiis B.) (11)

In this passage again Tomson's text agrees with that of the Bible[1]. The Testament differs from it twice (3, 8), and in both cases the Bible agrees with Beza. The remaining nine changes

[1] An important example of his disagreement is given below, p. 296, n.

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are all, as far as the Latin can express them, in accordance with Beza, and one is evidently due to him (5).

Examples of right renderings taken from Beza.

It is of more importance to place in a clear light the real origin of the changes in the English Genevan New Testament because very many of them have passed from that into our own Bible, and it has been forgotten to whom the renderings are due. Thus Archbp. Trench quotes five passages to shew[1] 'the very good and careful scholarship brought to bear upon this [the Genevan] 'revision,' in which 'it is the first to seize the exact 'meaning...which all the preceding versons had 'missed.' They are all derived from Beza. In one case the English translator has adopted his alternative rendering: in the four others he simply takes Beza's translation:

Luke xi. 17 one house shall (doth *Great Bible*) fall upon another (*Tyndale GB.*)
domus adversus sese dissidens cadit (*Beza.*)
a house divided against itself (an house T.) falleth (1557)

Acts xxiii. 27 came I...and rescued him and perceived that he was a Roman (*Tynd. GB.*)

[1] *On the Authorised Version*, p. 113, n.

superveniens...erui quum cognovissem Romanum esse (*Beza*)

I came and rescued him, perceiving that he was a Roman. (1557)

Acts xxvii. 9 because also that we (they *GB.*) had overlong fasted (*Tynd. GB.*)

quod jam etiam jejunium [tempus designat Lucas ex more Judaici populi] præteriisset. (*Beza.*)

because the time of (om. the time of T.) the fast was now past (1557)

James i. 13 God tempteth not (cannot tempt *GB.*) unto evil (*Tynd. GB.*)

Deus tentari malis non potest (*Beza.*)

God cannot be tempted with evil (1557)[1].

Mark xiv. 72 [he] began to weep (*Tynd. GB.*)

Possit aliquis interpretari: Quum hoc animadvertisset, id est, re animadversâ. (*Beza not.*)

weighing that with himself he wept (1557).

The credit of recognizing the right turning remains, but the Genevan translator can have no claim to original sagacity on this evidence.

To place the relation of the Genevan trans-

[1] This rendering (as we have seen, p. 261) is found in the Great Bible after the first edition.

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lators to Beza in a still clearer light it will be worth while, though it is an ungracious task, to quote an equal number of cases where under the same influence the Genevan version first goes wrong.

Examples of false readings taken from Beza.

Matt. i. 11 Josias begat *Jakim, and Jakim begat* Jechonias.

Luke ii. 22 When the time of *Mary's* purification ...was come.

Luke iii. 36 (Sala) which was the son of Arphaxad...

Rev. xi. 1 There was given me a reed like unto a rod, *and the angel stood by* saying...

Hebr. x. 38 But if *any* withdraw himself...

Mark xvi. 2 When the Sun *was yet rising.*

Of these which include four arbitrary corrections of the text the second and fourth and fifth have been incorporated in our present version: the first was abandoned by Beza in his third edition: the sixth is suggested in a note[1] and has modified the received rendering.

Beza's influence on the whole beneficial.

A comparison of the two groups of passages will shew at once the strength and the weakness of Beza and so of the revisions which were moulded after him. In the interpretation of the text he was

[1] One still more surprising change has been adopted in A.V. though it is not in 1557, ἀποθανόντος for ἀποθανόντες in Rom. vii. 6 (He being dead in whom we were holden, T).

singularly clear-sighted: in the criticism of the text he was more rash than his contemporaries in proportion as his self-reliance was greater. But though it is a far more grievous matter to corrupt the text than to misinterpret it, the cases in which Beza has corrected the renderings of former translators are incomparably more numerous than those in which he has introduced false readings; and on the whole his version is far superior to those which had been made before, and so consequently the Genevan revisions which follow it[1].

The notes of the Genevan Bible.

The notes of the Genevan Version contributed so greatly to its influence that one or two of them may be added which will be sufficient to shew the general character and scope of the commentary.

Ex. iv. 14.

'Though we provoke God justly to anger yet 'he will never reject his,

Ex. xxxi. 14.

'God repeateth this point, because the whole 'keeping of the Law standeth in the true use of 'the Sabbath, which is to cease from our works and 'to obey the will of God.

[1] The books of the Bible are thus arranged:

'The Names and order of all 'the Books of the Old and New 'Testament...' ['Genesis ... Ma- 'lachi.

'The Books called Apocry- 'pha. 1 Esdr. 2 Esdr.—1 Macc. '2 Macc.

'The Books of the New Tes- 'tament. Matthew...The Epistle 'of Paul to the Romans...Titus, 'Philemon. To the Ebrewes. 'James...Jude. Revelation.'

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'For finding nothing in man that can deserve 'mercy, he will freely save his.

Ex. xxxiii. 19. *Ruth i. 9.*

'Hereby it appeareth that Naomi by dwelling 'among idolaters was waxen cold in the true zeal 'of God, which rather hath respect to the ease of 'the body than to the comfort of the soul.

2 Chron. xv. 16.

'Herein he shewed that he lacked zeal for she 'ought to have died both by the covenant (v. 13) 'and by the law of God; but he gave place to 'foolish pity and would also seem after a sort to 'satisfy the Law.

Ps. lxxxix. 12.

'Tabor is a mountain westward from Jerusa- 'lem, and Hermon eastward; so the prophet 'signifieth that all parts and places of the world 'shall obey God's power for the deliverance of his 'Church.

Is. vi. 5.

'He speaketh this for two causes: the one be- 'cause he that was a mortal creature, and therefore 'had more need to glorify God than the angels, did 'it not: and the other because the more near that 'man approacheth to God the more doth he know 'his own sin and corruption.

Jerem. xxxi. 34.

'If the sun moon and stars cannot but give light 'according to mine ordinance, so long as this world 'lasteth, so shall my church never fail, neither shall 'anything hinder it: and as sure as I will have a

'people so certain is it that I will leave them my 'word for ever to govern them with.

'He divided the law of nature corrupt into 'ungodliness and unrighteousness. Ungodliness 'containeth the false worshipping of God: un- 'righteousness breach of law towards man. *Rom. i.* 18.

'As the only will and purpose of God is the 'chief cause of election and reprobation, so His 'free mercy in Christ is an inferior cause of salva- 'tion and the hardening of the heart an inferior 'cause of damnation. *Rom. ix.* 15.

'Open that which grieveth you that a remedy 'may be found; and this is commanded both for 'him that complaineth and for him that heareth, 'that the one should shew his grief to the other. *James v.* 16

'The souls of the saints are under the altar 'which is Christ, meaning that they are in his safe 'custody in the heavens.' *Rev. vi.* 9.

'Locusts are false teachers, heretics and worldly 'subtil prelates, with monks, friars, cardinals, pa- 'triarchs, archbishops, bishops, doctors, bachelors 'and masters which forsake Christ to maintain 'false doctrine[1].' *Rev. ix.* 3.

[1] In the New Testament the notes in the Bible (1560) differ from those in the Testament of 1557 (*e.g.* Matt. xxviii. 15; Mark i. 1; Rom. xvi. 7), but chiefly by additions made in the Bible.

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§ 7. The Bishops' Bible.

The design of the Bishops' Bible.

The correspondence on the subject of the Bishops' Bible which has been already quoted explains the general design of the revisers[1]. It was their object to remove from the Great Bible all errors which seemed to impair the sense, and at the same time to produce a popular and not a literary version. In both respects—in the alteration of the renderings and in the alteration of the language—they proposed at least in the first instance to confine themselves to necessary changes, for the revision was essentially conservative in its conception. But in the execution of the plan some of the revisers certainly made use of far wider liberty than the original scheme permitted.

The design unequally carried out.

The execution of the work is indeed, if a very partial examination may be trusted, extremely unequal; and the Greek scholarship of the revisers is superior to their Hebrew scholarship. How far the separate sections are marked by the special characteristics of the men engaged upon them I cannot say, and the inquiry is not one which would reward the labour which it would cost. Still the revision has received far less attention

[1] See pp. 130 ff.

than it deserves, and in the New Testament it shews considerable vigour and freshness.

General character.

The historical books of the Old Testament follow the text of the Great Bible very closely. The Hagiographa, as far as I have examined them, are corrected with considerable freedom. The Prophets are altered very frequently, but in these the new renderings can generally be traced to some other source. The influence of the Genevan revision is perceptible throughout, but it is more obvious in the Prophets than elsewhere. Castalio was certainly consulted and had some influence with the revisers, but with the exception of the Genevan version itself no fresh sources were open to them in addition to those which the Genevan exiles had used[1].

Examples.

One or two passages will illustrate what has been said[2].

Is. liii.

GREAT BIBLE, 1550[3]. 1 But who hath given credence unto *the thing we have heard?* or to whom is the arm of the Lord known?

2 For he did grow before the Lord like as a branch

[1] See p. 273.

[2] The passages are taken from the Great Bible of 1550. The readings of the Bishops' Bible from the first edition of 1568.

[3] The italics, as before, indicate words and phrases which were changed in the revision. The renderings substituted are given in detail afterwards.

and as a root in a dry ground. He hath neither beauty nor favour. When we *shall look* upon him there shall be no fairness: we shall have no lust unto him.

3 He is despised and abhorred of men: he is such a man as *is full of sorrow and as hath good experience of infirmities.* We have reckoned him so vile that we hid our faces from him; *yea he was despised and therefore we regarded him not.*

4 Howbeit he only hath taken on him our *infirmities* and borne our pains. Yet we did judge him as though he were plagued and cast down of God *and punished.*

5 Whereas he (*notwithstanding*) was wounded for our offences and smitten for our wickedness. For the *chastisement of our peace* was laid upon him, and with his stripes are we healed.

6 As for us, we *have* gone all astray (like sheep) every one hath turned his own way; but the Lord hath *heaped together* upon *him the iniquity of us all.*

7 He suffered violence and was evil entreated, and did not *yet* open his mouth. He shall be led as a sheep to be slain, yet shall he be as still as a lamb before the shearer and not open his mouth.

8 *He was had away from prison, his cause not heard and without any judgment. Whose generation yet who may number? He was* cut off from the ground of the living, which punishment did go upon him for the transgression of my people, *which indeed had deserved that punishment.*

9 His grave was given him with the condemned and with the rich man at his death, whereas he did never violence nor unright, neither hath there been any deceitfulness in his mouth.

10 Yet hath it pleased the Lord *thus to bruste him with plagues and to smite* him with infirmity that when he had made his soul an offering for sin he might see long-lasting seed. And this device of the Lord shall prosper in his hand.

11 *With travail and labour of his soul shall he obtain fruit and he shall be* satisfied *by the knowledge of him which is my righteous servant: he shall* justify the multitude, for he shall *bear away* their sins.

12 Therefore will I give him *the multitude for* his part, and he shall divide the spoil with the *strongest*, because he giveth over his soul to death, and is reckoned among the transgressors, which nevertheless hath taken away the sins of

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Is. liii.

the multitude and made intercession for the misdoers.

1 *the thing we have heard: our preaching* (our report Geneva 1560) prædicationi nostræ Leo Juda[1] (1)

2 *shall* look. (shall see G.): look videmus J. (2)

3 as *is full...as hath good experience of sorrows and infirmities* homo dolorum ægritudinisque gnarus C. (3)

— yea he was despised and therefore we regarded him not (similarly G. and all): *omit.* (4)

4 *infirmities* (so all): *infirmity* (5)

— *and punished* (and humbled G. similarly all): *omit.* (6)

5 notwithstanding (in smaller type). (*om.* G.) (7)

— *the chastisement of our peace* (so P. M. G.): *the pain of our punishment.* mulcta correctionis nostræ J. (8)

6 we *have* gone all (G.): we *are* all gone (9)

— *heaped together...all* (hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all G.): *thrown* upon him *all our sins* in eum omnium nostrum crimen conjecit C. (10)

[1] The translation of Leo Juda will be indicated by J. The Geneva version and the versions of Pagninus, Münster, and Castalio are indicated as before by G, P, M, C.

7 did not *yet* (similarly M. J. G.): did not P. (11)

8 *he was had away...judgment: from the prison and judgment was he taken* (he was taken from prison and from judgment G.): so P. C. otherwise J. (12)

— *whose* generation...*number: and his* generation who *can declare?* (and who shall declare his age? G.) generationem ejus quis enarrabit P. M. (13)

— he was: *for* he was (so P. M. J. G.) (14)

which...punishment (M): *om.* (so P. J. G.) (15)

10 *thus to bruste him with plagues and* to smite (somewhat similarly P. M. G): to smite (infirmando atterere J.) (libuit autem Jovæ eum ægritudine contundere C.) (16)

11 *with* travail...shall be...: *of the* travail and labour of his soul *shall he see the fruit and be...* so M. (he shall see of the travail of his soul and shall be... G.) (17)

— *by the knowledge...shall justify* (M.): *my righteous servant shall with his knowledge justify...* (by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many G.) cognitione sui multos justificabit justus servus meus J. similarly C. (18)

— bear *away...*: bear... (so P. M. J. C.) (19)

12 *the multitude for his part...*: *among the great*

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ones his part... (give him a portion with the great G.) similarly P. M. C. otherwise J. (20)

the strongest (M): the mighty (the strong G.) fortibus P. J. (21)

Thus of the twenty-one corrections five are due to the Genevan version (7, 12, 18, 20, 21): five more agree with Pagninus (11, 13, 14, 15, 19): three with Leo Juda (1, 2, 8): three with Castalio (3, 10, 16); and one with Münster (17). One change is simply linguistic (9), and three are apparently original (4, 5, 6).

In a passage from the Psalms the reviser shews far greater originality and the influence of the Genevan revision is considerably less:

PS. XIX. GREAT BIBLE 1550. 1 The heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament sheweth His handiwork.

2 *One day telleth another and one night certifieth another.*

3 *There is neither speech nor language, but their voices are heard among them: their sound is gone out* into all lands, and their words into the ends of the world.

4 In them *hath he* set a tabernacle for the sun, which cometh forth as a bridegroom out of his

chamber and rejoiceth as a giant to run his course.

5 *It goeth forth* from the utmost part of *the* heaven, and *runneth about* unto the *end of it again*, and there is nothing hid from *the heat thereof.*

6 The law of *the Lord* is *an undefiled law*, converting the soul; the testimony of *the Lord* is sure, and giveth wisdom unto the simple.

7 The statutes of *the Lord* are right and rejoice the heart, the commandment of *the Lord* is pure and giveth light unto the eyes.

8 The fear of *the Lord* is *clean* and endureth for ever, the judgments of *the Lord* are *true and righteous altogether.*

9 *More to be desired are they* than gold, yea than much fine gold: *sweeter also* than honey and the honeycomb.

10 Moreover by them *is* thy servant *taught* and in keeping of them there is *great* reward.

11 Who can *tell how oft he offendeth:* O cleanse thou me from (*my*) *secret faults.*

12 Keep thy servant also from presumptuous *sins*, *lest they get the dominion* over me: so *shall I* be *undefiled* and *innocent from the great* offence.

13 Let the words of my mouth and the meditation-

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of my heart be (always) acceptable in thy sight, O *Lord,* my strength and my redeemer.

2 *A day occasioneth talk thereof unto a day, and a night teacheth knowledge unto a night.* (Day unto day uttereth the same, and night unto night teacheth knowledge G.) similarly P. M. (1)

3 *There is...gone out: no language, no words, no voice of theirs is heard; yet their sound goeth* (non est [illis] sermo, non verba, neque auditur vox eorum, in omnem tamen... J.) (2)

4 hath he: he hath (3)

5 *It...forth: his going forth is* egressus ejus M. his going out is G. (4)

— *the:* om. (5)

— *runneth about: his circuit* revolutio ejus P. M. his compass G. (6)

— *and...again: utmost part thereof* ad extrema eorum M. J. (7)

— *the* h. *thereof: his* heat (8)

6 *the Lord: God* (so throughout), not P. M. J. G. C. (9)

— *an undefiled law: perfect* G. (10)

8 *clean* (P. J. G.): *sincere* sincerus M. (11)

— *true* (J.): *truth* P. M. G. (12)

8 *and...altogether: they be just in all points* (justificata pariter P. M. J.) (13)
9 *more...they: They are more to be desired...* (14)
— *sweeter also* (G): *they are also sweeter* (15)
10 *is...taught:* thy servant *is well advertised.* (perspicue admonetur J.) (16)
— great (G): *a* great (17)
11 *tell...offendeth: know his own errors* (errores quis intelligit M. err. quis animadvertat J.) (18)
— (*my*) *secret faults: those that I am not privy of* (19)
12 sins: [sins] (20)
— *lest...dominion: let them not reign* G. (ne dominentur mihi P. M. J.) (21)
— *shall...undefiled: I shall be perfect* perfectus ero P. (22)
innocent...great: void from all heinous (innocens a quovis grandiori scelere J.) (23)
13 (always): om. so G. (24)
— *Lord: God* (25)

Of these changes one-fifth appears to be original (1, 5, 13, 20, 25): nine more are linguistic (3, 8, 9, 14, 15, 17, 19): three are coincidences with Pagninus (6, 12, 22): five with Leo Juda (2, 7, 16,

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18, 23): four with the Genevan version (4, 10, 21, 24): and one with Münster (11).

The revision of the New Testament more important than that of the Old.

There is but little to recommend the original renderings of the Bishops' Bible in the Old Testament. As a general rule they appear to be arbitrary and at variance with the exact sense of the Hebrew text[1]. The revision of the New Testament however will repay careful study.

Lawrence's Notes.

Among the revisers was Lawrence, 'a man in 'those times of great fame for his knowledge in the 'Greek[2],' of whose labours Strype has preserved a singularly interesting memorial in a series of 'notes 'of errors in the Translation of the N. T.[3]' Some of these are worthy of quotation.

Matt. xxi. 33. 'There was a certain man, an 'householder, which *made* a vineyard. ὅστις ἐφύ-'τευσεν ἀμπελῶνα (that is) which *planted* a vineyard. 'The word *made* is too general...I allow not such 'generalities in translation when our tongue hath 'as apt words as the Greek, *ib.* he *putteth* for ὤρυ-'ξεν, that is, he *digged*. The first error is amended

[1] It is possible that I have been unfortunate in the parts which I have examined; for what I saw did not encourage me to compare very much of the Bishops' text with the other versions.

[2] Strype's *Parker*, II. 223.

[3] *Id.* App. LXXXV. Lawrence notices twenty-nine passages.

'in the Genevan Bible; the second is noted in the 'margin.'

Matt. xxv. 20. 'I gained with them five talents 'more. ἄλλα πέντε τάλαντα ἐκέρδησα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς sig- 'nifieth *over* and *besides* them...'

Matt. xxviii. 14. 'We will save you harmless. 'ἀμερίμνος, that is *careless:* ἀβλαβὴς or ἀζήμιος is '*harmless:* ἀμέριμνος, *careless.* I may be harmless 'in body and goods and yet not careless. This is 'not considered in the Genevan Bible.'

Luke i. 3, 4. 'I determined also as soon as I 'had searched out diligently all things from the 'beginning that then I would write unto thee...that 'thou...hast been informed.' This Lawrence translates: 'It seemed good to me having perfect un- 'derstanding [as they that follow foot by foot] of 'all things from the beginning to write to them in 'order...that thou...hast been taught by mouth.'

Mark xv. 3. 'These words αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπε- 'κρίνατο he omitted both here and in the Geneva 'translation. Yet the Greek printed by Stephens 'hath it.'

Mark xiii. 16. 'Let him that is in the field not 'turn back again unto the things which he left be- 'hind him. For all these words there be no more 'in the Greek but ὁ εἰς τὸν ἄγρον ὢν μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω

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'εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, that is, he that is in the field let him 'not turn back. εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω signifieth no more 'but back: John vi. 66...This superfluity is in the 'Genevan translation.'

It is not known how far Lawrence's labours extended, but an examination of a difficult passage of an Epistle will prove that the reviser who corrected it was not deficient in originality and vigorous scholarship[1]:

Eph. iv. GREAT BIBLE, 1550. 7 *Unto* every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ.

8 Wherefore he saith, When he went up on high he led captivity captive and gave gifts unto men.

9 *That* he ascended, what *meaneth* it, but that he also descended first into the *lowest* parts of the earth.

10 He that descended is even the same also that ascended up *above* all heavens to fulfil all things.

11 And *the very same made* some Apostles, *some* Prophets, *some* Evangelists, *some* Shepherds and Teachers,

12 to the *edifying* of the Saints, *to* the work *and* ministration, *even to* the edifying of the body of Christ,

[1] The text is taken as before from the Great Bible of 1550.

13 till we all *come to* the unity of faith, and knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the *full perfect age* of Christ,

14 that we henceforth *should* be no more children wavering and carried about with every wind of doctrine *by* the wiliness of men, *through* craftiness, *whereby they lay a wait for us to deceive us.*

15 But *let us follow the* truth in love *and in all things grow in him* which is the head, *even* Christ,

16 in whom *if* all the body *be* coupled and knit together *throughout* every joint *wherewith one ministereth to another,* according to the *operation as every part hath his measure, he increaseth* the body unto the edifying of itself *through* love.

7 Unto: *But* unto G.[1] (1)

9 that: *but* that (now in that G.) (2)

— *meaneth* G.: *is* (3)

— *lowest* G.: *lower* (4)

10 above: *far* above G. (5)

11 *the very...made: he gave* G. (6)

— some (3): *and* some G. (7)

[1] The notation is the same as before. The Testament of the Genevan Bible (1560) is represented by G, the Genevan Testament by the date 1577. The readings of the Bishops' Bible are taken from the first edition 1568. See p. 316.

12 *edifying: gathering together* (that the saints might be gathered together 1557 for the repairing of the saints G.) (8)

— *to: into* (9)

— *and: of* (10)

— *even to: into* (11)

13 *come to: meet together into* (meet together, in G.) (12)

— *full...age: age of the fulness* G. (13)

14 should: *omit* G. (14)

— *by: in* (15)

— *through: in* (16)

— *whereby...us* (whereby they lay in wait to deceive G.): *to the laying wait of deceit* (17)

15 *let us follow* G.: *following* (18)

— *and in...him: let us grow up into him in all things* (19)

— even: *om.* (20)

16 if: *om.* G. (21)

— *be: being* G. (22)

— *throughout...another: by every joint of submi-nistration* (by every joint for the furniture thereof G.) (23)

— *operation...measure: effectual power on the measure of every part* (eff. p. which is in &c. G.) (24).

16 *he increaseth: maketh increase of* (receiveth increase of G) (25)

— *through: in* G. (26)

Of these twenty-six variations no less than seventeen are new, while only nine are due to the Genevan version; and the character of the original corrections marks a very close and thoughtful revision based faithfully upon the Greek. The anxiously literal rendering of the particles (2) and prepositions (9, 11, 12, 15, 16) is specially worthy of notice: so too the observance of the order (19), and of the original form of the sentences (17, 18, 20, 23, 24), even where some obscurity follows from it. In four places the Authorised Version follows the Bishops' renderings (3, 4, 10, 25); and only one change appears to be certainly for the worse in which the rendering of the Genevan Testament has been followed (8 Beza *ad coagmentationem*). The singular independence of the revision as compared with those which have been noticed before is shewn by the fact that only four (3, 10, 11, 18) of the new changes agree with Beza and at least nine are definitely against him (4, 12, 15, 16, 17, 20, 23, 24, 25)[1].

[1] According to Mr Offor (MS. Collections, II. 54 ff.) the New Testament in the Bishops' Bible is taken from a revision of

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Second edition of the Bishops' Bible.

In 1572 a new edition of the Bishops' Bible was published. In this the translation of the Old Testament, as far as I have been able to examine it, is unchanged, but that of the New Testament is carefully revised. As was natural this second edition was taken as the basis of the Authorised Version, though there are numerous cases in which the rendering of the edition of 1568 is restored there. The collation of a single epistle will shew the extent of the differences, and the proportion in which the respective readings were preferred by King James' revisers.

Revision of the New Testament.

	Bishops' Bible 1568.	Bishops' Bible 1572, 1578.
Eph. i. 2	grace be...and from	grace [be]...and [from], A. V.
— 5	predestinate	predestinated, A. V.
— 10	heaven, A. V.	heavens, A. V. mg.
— 13	in whom also ye	in whom also ye [hoped], (similarly A. V.)
— 21	not in this world only	not only in this world only (1572) not only in this world (1578) A. V.

Sir J. Cheke's (?) New Testament published by Jugge in 1561. The collations which he gives of John i., Acts i., Rom. i., Rev. i., certainly go far to establish the statement, but I have not been able to consult the edition referred to. The Testament which answers to it in Dr Cotton's list is described as 'Tyndale's.'

Bishops' Bible 1568.	Bishops' Bible 1572, 1578.
ii. 1 And you	and he quickened you (similarly A.V.)
— 5 by grace are ye saved, A.V.	by [whose] grace ye are saved, A.V.
— 6 in the heavenly	in heavenly things
— 7 in kindness	in [his] kindness, A.V.
— 10 hath ordained	hath before ordained, A.V.
— 14 the wall	the middle wall, A.V.
— 17 preached, A.V.	preached the glad tidings of
— you which were, A.V.	you [which were]
— 18 both have, A.V.	have both
— 19 citizens	fellow-citizens, A.V.
— 22 ye also, A.V.	also ye
iii. 3 shewed he	shewed [God]
— 6 that the, A.V.	[that] the
— 7 am made	was made, A.V.
— 8 Unto me the least	unto me which (who, A.V.) am less than the least, A.V.
— 12 confidence which is by	confidence by A.V.
— 13 in my	for my
— 19 knowledge, A.V.	[all] knowledge
— 21 be praise	be glory, A.V.
iv. 14 in the wiliness	and in the wiliness
— 15 Christ	[even] Christ, A.V.
— 16 being coupled	being conveniently coupled
— joint of subministration	joint yielding nourishment
v. 13 rebuked of the light, are manifest	rebuked are made manifest of the light mg. some read rebuked of the light are made manifest

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v. 15	how ye walk	that ye walk, A.V.
— 24	to Christ	unto Christ, A.V.
— 26	cleansing [it]	when he had cleansed [it]
— 27	to make it unto	that he might present it unto (to A.V.), A.V.
vi. 1	your fathers and mothers	your parents, A.V.
—	your bodily	[your] bodily (similarly A.V.)
— 9	threatening, A.V.	threatenings
— 12	rule	rules
—	spiritual craftiness	spiritual wickedness, A.V.
— 14	loins	your loins, A.V.
—	putting on	having on, A.V.
— 15	having your feet	your feet, A.V.
— 18	watch thereunto, A.V.	watching for the same purpose
— 20	messenger	a messenger
— 23	peace [be] unto (to A.V.) the brethren, A.V.	peace [be unto you]
— 24	grace be	grace [be], A.V.

The Commentary.

The notes in the Bishops' Bible differ generally in their character from those in the Genevan. They are shorter and more epigrammatic, and deal more frequently with the interpretation than with the application of the text. Yet there are in them, as will be seen even in the following examples, many dogmatic statements which are of importance in estimating the standard theology of the age. The

chief part of the commentary on a single chapter will shew the general range of the notes: a few detached specimens will illustrate their doctrinal nature.

Gen. I.

'Natural sorrow if it be in measure is not to 1
'be reprehended.

'*to embalm:* This was to the godly then an 2
'outward token of incorruption, but to the ignorant
'a vain ceremony.

'*Am I God?* or *In the place of God.* 19

'That is, he would not turn that to their shame 20
'which God had disposed to their wealth.

'*kindly. To their hearts.* 21

'*born* or *brought up or nourished.* 23

'The truth of God's promise is immortal which 24
'men must look for patiently and not prescribe
'God a time.

'his name Everlasting. Jah, a name of God that *Ps. lxxxiii. 4*
'signifieth him to be always and other things to
'be of him.

'*preachers.* The women that told it abroad. 11

'*the ornament of an house divided the spoil.* That 12
'is a woman, meaning Debora.

'*in it.* In the land of promise. 14

'*the people like unto calves: Calves of people.* 30

'princes: *Ambassadors.* 31

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33 '*the most highest eternal heavens: upon the hea-*
'*vens, the heavens of eternity.*'

Luke iv. 6. 'Satan betrayeth himself, shewing his bold sa-
'crilege, usurping the empire of the earth.'

John xix. 30 'The mystery of man's redemption and sal-
'vation is perfected by the only sacrifice of Christ,
'the promise to the fathers fulfilled, the ceremo-
'nies of the law ended.'

Rom. ix. 11. 'The will and purpose of God is the cause of
'the election and reprobation; for his mercy and
'calling through Christ are the means of salvation;
'and the withdrawing of his mercy is the cause of
damnation.'

Phil. ii. 12. 'Our health hangeth not on our works, and yet
'are they said to work out their health who do run
'in the race of justice. For although we be saved
'freely in Christ by faith, yet must we walk by the
'way of justice unto our health.'

Hebr. xiii. 10. 'They that stick to the ceremonies of the law
'cannot eat, that is cannot be partakers of our altar,
'which is thanksgiving and liberality, which two
'sacrifices or offerings are now only left to the
'Christians[1].'

[1] The books are arranged in the following manner in the table of contents:

§ 8. The Rhemes and Doway Bible.

The Rhemish Version a secondary translation from the Vulgate.

The Rhemish Bible, like Wycliffe's, lies properly outside the line of English Bibles, because it is a secondary translation based upon the Vulgate. But it is nevertheless of considerable importance in the internal history of the authorised text, for it furnished a large proportion of the Latin words which King James' revisers adopted; and it is to this rather than to Coverdale's Testaments that we owe the final and most powerful action of the Vulgate upon our present Version.

The translators' account of this work.

The Rhemish translators give a very interesting and ingenious defence of their method, but they express no obligation to the earlier English translations which still formed the groundwork of their version[1]. They take the current Latin Vulgate for

'The order of the Books of 'the Old Testament.'

'The first part:' Genesis—Deuteronomy.

'The second part:' Joshua—Job.

'The third part of the Bible:' The Psalter—Malachi.

'The fourth part of the Bible 'called Apocryphus:' 3 Esdr.—1 Macb. 2 Macb.

'The order of the books of 'the New Testament.'

'The fifth part.'

The four Gospels. The Acts.

St Paul's Epistles: Romans—Hebrews.

St James.

1, 2 St Peter.

1, 2, 3 St John.

St Jude.

Revelation.

[1] This will appear, at least in the New Testament, by a comparison of any chapter in the Rhemish Version with the earlier English translations. The coincidences with the Genevan revi-

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their guide, and expressly disclaim the intention of acting as interpreters where that is obscure. What they say upon each point is well worth quoting, and may serve as a commentary on Romish views of Scripture at the end of the 16th century.

The choice of a ground text.

'We translate the old vulgar Latin text, not 'the common Greek text, for these causes:

'1. It is so ancient that it was used in the 'Church above 1300 years ago...

'2. It is that...by all probability which St Je- 'rome afterward corrected according to the Greek 'by the appointment of Damasus then Pope...

'3. Consequently it is the same which St Au- 'gustine so commendeth...

'4. It is that which for the most part ever 'since hath been used in the Church's Service...

'5. The Holy Council of Trent, for these and 'many other important considerations, hath de- 'clared and defined this only of all other Latin 'translations to be authentical...

'6. It is the gravest, sincerest, of greatest ma-

sion alone (1560) in a single chapter are striking. Rom i. 6 *the called of* Jesus Christ; 10 have a prosperous journey; 12 be *comforted* together in you; 17 *revealed*; 23 *corruptible*; 28 a *reprobate* sense; id. *are not convenient*. Some of these words may have come independently from the Vulgate, but a comparison with Wycliffe shews that it is unlikely that all did. Cf. ii. 5, 17; iv. 14; vii. 6, &c.

'jesty, least partiality, as being without all respect 'of controversies and contentions, specially those 'of our time...

'7. It is so exact and precise according to the 'Greek, both the phrase and the word, that delicate 'heretics therefore reprehend it of rudeness...

'8. The adversaries themselves, namely Beza, 'prefer it before all the rest...

'9. In the rest there is such diversity and dis- 'cussion and no end of reprehending one another, 'and translating every man according to his fancy, 'that Luther said If the world should stand any 'long time, we must receive again (which he 'thought absurd) the decrees of Councils for pre- 'serving the unity of faith, because of so diverse 'interpretations of the Scripture...

'10. It is not only better than all other Latin 'translations but than the Greek text itself in those 'places where they disagree...'

This last statement is supported by the argument that as the first heretics were Greeks, the Greek Scriptures suffered much at their hands. Further, it is shewn that many Latin readings are supported by ancient Greek authority; but it is also allowed that some errors had crept into the current text by the fault of scribes as *in fide*

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for *in finc* (1 Pet. iii. 8), *præscientiam* for *præsentiam* (2 Pet. i. 16), *placuerunt* for *latuerunt* (Hebr. xiii. 2)[1].

Similar arguments applied to the Old Testament (1609).

In the Preface to the translation of the Old Testament the same arguments are repeated briefly. The Hebrew text is said to have been 'foully cor-'rupted by the Jews,' as the Greek by heretics. But in the interval between the publication of the New and Old Testament an authoritative text of the Vulgate had been printed (by Clement VIII. 1592), and the English version of the Old Testament was made to agree with this. 'Only one 'thing we have done,' the editors say, 'touching 'the text...We have again conferred this English 'translation, and conformed it to the most perfect 'Latin edition[2].'

Method of translation.

Their choice of a text being thus defended[3], the translators explain also the principles on which

[1] Preface to the New Testament.

[2] The delay in the appearance of the Old Testament is set down by the editors to 'one general 'cause, our poor estate in banish-'ment.' When they published the New Testament (1582) the 'Old 'Testament was lying by them,' 'long since translated.'

I do not know what edition of the Vulgate they followed in the New Testament. It was probably one by Hentenius. The text differs from the Complutensian (Apoc. xvi. 7) and the Clementine (Apoc. xxii. 9).

[3] It may be noticed that the translators retain without comment the interpolations in 1 Samuel; e.g. iv. 1; v. 6; x. 1; xiv. 22; xv. 12; xvii. 36.

they rendered it. They claim for themselves absolute impartiality. Their utmost desire was to reproduce the Vulgate in English without removing its technicalities or its obscurity. 'We have used 'no partiality for the disadvantage of our adver-'saries, nor no more license than is sufferable in 'translating of holy Scriptures, continually keeping 'ourselves as near as is possible to our text and to 'the very words and phrases which by long use 'are made venerable, though to some profane or 'delicate ears they may seem more hard or barba-'rous, as the whole style of Scripture doth lightly 'to such at the beginning, acknowledging with St 'Jerome that in other writings it is enough to give 'in translation sense for sense, but that in Scrip-'tures, lest we miss the sense, we must keep the 'very words.' 'We do not doubt,' they add, 'but 'that to the discreet reader that deeply weigheth 'and considereth the importance of sacred words 'and speeches, and how easily the voluntary trans-'lator may miss the true sense of the Holy Ghost... 'our consideration and doing therein shall seem 'reasonable and necessary; yea and that all sorts 'of Catholic readers will in short time think that 'familiar which at the first may seem strange, and 'will esteem it more when they shall otherwise be

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Use of strange words.

'taught to understand it than if it were the common known English.'

Thus they retain *Amen, Amen* and *Alleluia* 'for the more holy and sacred authority thereof.' In the same way they keep *Corbana, Parasceue, Pasch, Azymes, the bread of Proposition*, just as we retain Pentecost. *Neophyte* (1 Tim. iii. 6) they defend by *Proselyte, Didrachms, Prepuce* and *Paraclete* by *Phylacteries*. 'How is it possible,' they ask, 'to express *euangelizo* but by *euangelize?*... 'Therefore [also] we say *Depositum* (1 Tim. vi. 20) 'and he *exinanited* himself (Phil. ii. 7), you have '*reflourished* (Phil. iv. 10) and to *exhaust* (Heb. ix. '28), because we cannot possibly attain to express 'these words fully in English, and we think much 'better that the reader staying at the difficulty of 'them should take occasion to look in the table 'following[1] or otherwise to ask the full meaning

[1] In this table, which contains fifty-five terms, the following words occur as 'not familiar 'to the vulgar reader:'

acquisition, getting, purchasing Eph. i. 14.

advent, The coming Matt. xxiv. 28.

adulterating, corrupting 2 Cor. ii. 17.

allegory, a mystical speech Gal. iv. 23.

cooperate, signifieth working with others Rom. viii. 28.

evangelize.

eunuchs.

holocaust, a kind of sacrifice... Hebr. x. 6.

paraclete John xiv. 16.

prescience, foreknowledge Acts ii. 23.

resuscitate, raise, quicken, renew 2 Tim. i. 6.

victims, sacrifices Acts vii. 42.

'of them, than by putting some usual English 'words that express them not so to deceive the 'reader...The *advent* of the Lord, and *imposing* of 'hands...come out of the very Latin text of the 'Scripture. So did *penance, doing penance, chalice,* '*priest, deacon, tradition, altar, host* and the like...'

Difficulties purposely left unsolved.

From these principles it followed consistently that the translators did not scruple to leave the version unintelligible or ambiguous where the Latin text itself was so. This they distinctly profess:

'Moreover we presume not to mollify the 'speeches or phrases, but religiously keep them 'word for word, and point for point, for fear of 'missing or restraining the sense of the Holy Ghost 'to our fancy as Eph. vi. 12, *against the spirituals of* '*wickedness in the celestials*...James iv. 6, *and giveth* '*the greater grace*, leaving it indifferent to the *Scrip-*'*ture* or to the *Holy Ghost* both going before...'

The value of the translation lies in its vocabulary.

In itself then the Version has no independent merit as a version of the original texts. It is said indeed to have been compared with the Hebrew and Greek, but the collation must have been limited in scope or ineffectual, for the Psalter (to

The list is a singular commentary on the large infusion of classical words into common language since the beginning of the xviith century. Comp. p. 334.

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take one signal example) is translated, not from Jerome's version of the Hebrew, but from his revision of the very faulty translation from the Septuagint, which commonly displaced it in Latin Bibles. As it stands, the Doway Bible is simply the ordinary, and not the pure, Latin text of Jerome in an English dress. Its merits, and they are considerable, lie in its vocabulary. The style, so far as it has a style, is unnatural, the phrasing is most unrhythmical, but the language is enriched by the bold reduction of innumerable Latin words to English service[1].

Examples from the Old Testament.

One or two examples will be sufficient to indicate its merits and defects:

	DOWAY.	VULGATE.
Dan. ix.	18 Incline my God thine ear and hear: open thine eyes and see our desolation and the city *upon which thy name is invocated;* for neither *in our justifications do we prostrate prayers* before thy face, but in thy many commiserations.	Inclina Deus meus aurem tuam et audi; aperi oculos tuos et vide desolationem nostram et civitatem *super quam invocatum est nomen tuum;* neque enim *in justificationibus nostris prosternimus preces* ante faciem tuam, sed in miserationibus tuis multis.
	19 Hear O Lord, be paci-	Exaudi, Domine, placare,

[1] I am not aware that English lexicographers have examined this subject, but it would repay examination.

DOWAY.	VULGATE.
fied, O Lord: attend and do; delay not for thine own sake my God: because thy name is invocated upon thy city and upon thy people.....	Domine, attende et fac: ne moreris propter temetipsum, Deus meus: quia nomen tuum invocatum est super civitatem et super populum tuum.....
24 Seventy weeks are abridged upon thy people and upon thy holy city, *that prevarication may be consummate* and sin take an end and iniquity be abolished and everlasting justice be brought; and vision be accomplished and prophecy; and the Holy one of Holies be anointed.	Septuaginta hebdomadas abbreviatæ sunt super populum tuum, et super urbem sanctam tuam, *ut consummetur prævaricatio* et finem accipiat peccatum et deleatur iniquitas, et adducatur justitia sempiterna et impleatur visio et prophetia et ungatur sanctus sanctorum.
25 Know therefore and mark: From the giving forth of the word that Jerusalem be built again unto Christ the Prince there shall be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks, and the street shall be built again and the walls in straitness of the times.	Scito ergo et animadverte: ab exitu sermonis ut iterum ædificetur Jerusalem usque ad Christum ducem, hebdomades septem et hebdomades sexaginta duo erunt; et rursum ædificabitur platea et muri in angustia temporum.
26 And after sixty-two weeks Christ shall be	Et post hebdomadas sexaginta duas occidetur Christus

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DOWAY.	VULGATE.
slain, *and it shall not be his people that shall deny him.* And the city and the sanctuary shall the people dissipate with the prince to come: *and the end thereof waste* and after the end of the battle the appointed desolation.	*et non erit ejus populus qui eum negaturus est.* Et civitatem et sanctuarium dissipabit populus cum duce venturo, et *finis ejus vastitas* et post finem belli statuta desolatio.

The correspondence with the Latin text is thus absolutely verbal, and it is only through the Latin that the English in some places becomes intelligible. But on the other hand Jerome's own greatness as a translator is generally seen through the second version. A very familiar passage will shew how closely the rendering can approach our own even in the Prophets:

Is. ix. 6 For a little child is born to us and a son is given to us, and principality is made upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called Marvellous, Counsellor, God, Strong, Father of the world to come, the Prince of peace.

7 His empire shall be multiplied and there shall be no end of peace: he shall sit upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, that

he may confirm it and strengthen it in judgment and justice from this time and for ever; the zeal of the Lord of hosts shall do this.

The Psalter extremely unsatisfactory.

The Psalter is the most unsatisfactory part of the whole book. Even where the sense is sufficiently clear to remain distinct through three translations, from Hebrew to Greek, from Greek to Latin, from Latin to English, the stiff, foreign style sounds strangely unsuited to words of devotion; and where the Latin itself has already lost the sense, the English baffles understanding. One specimen of each kind may be added:

8 The Law of our Lord is immaculate converting souls: the testimony of our Lord is faithful, giving wisdom to little ones. *Ps. xix.*

9 The justices of our Lord be right, making hearts joyful: the precept of our Lord lightsome, illuminating the eyes.

10 The fear of our Lord is holy, permanent for ever and ever; the judgments of our Lord be true, justified in themselves.

11 To be desired above gold and much precious stone: and more sweet above honey and the honey comb.

12 For thy servant keepeth them, in keeping them is much reward.

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13 Sins who understandeth? From my secret sins cleanse me: and from other men's spare thy servant.

This is not what a translation of the Psalms should be, but the following passage is positively painful from the ostentatious disregard of meaning in the words[1]:

Ps. lvii.

9 As wax that melteth shall they be taken away: fire hath fallen on them, and they have not seen the sun.

10 *Before your thorns did understand the old briar: as living so in wrath he swalloweth them.*

11 The just shall rejoice when he shall see revenge: he shall wash his hands in the blood of a sinner.

12 And man shall say: If certes there be fruit to the just: there is a God certes judging them on the earth.

The version of the New Testament obscure, especially in the Epistles.

The translation of the New Testament is exactly similar to that of the Old; and next to the Psalter the Epistles are most inadequately rendered. Neither the Psalter, indeed, as translated by the Rhemists, nor the Epistles had the benefit of Je-

[1] The translation follows the Gallican Psalter verbally. Jerome's own translation is wholly different.

rome's independent labour. He revised the Latin texts of both hastily and imperfectly, but in both he left much which he would not himself have written. A few isolated quotations will be enough to shew the character of the Rhemish Version:

Rom. v. 18 Therefore as by the offence of one, unto all men to condemnation: so also by the justice of one unto all men to justification of life.

vi. 13 Exhibit yourselves as of dead men alive.

vii. 23 I see another law in my members, repugning to the law of my mind and captiving me in the law of sin that is in my members.

viii. 18 I think that the passions of this time arė not condigne to the glory to come.

ix. 28 For consummating a word and abridging it in equity: because a word abridged shall our Lord make upon the earth.

Eph. vi. 12 Our wrestling is...against princes and potentates, against the rectors of the world of this darkness, against the spirituals of wickedness in the celestials.

Heb. xiii. 16 Beneficence and communication do

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not forget, for with such hosts God is premerited[1].

Examples of Latin words which have been adopted in our Version.

Such translations as these have no claim to be considered vernacular renderings of the text: except through the Latin they are unintelligible. But still they only represent what there was in the Vulgate incapable of assimilation to an English version. And on the other hand a single Epistle furnishes the following list of Latin words which King James' translators have taken from the Rhemish Testament: *separated* (Rom. i. 1), *consent* (mg.) (i. 32), *impenitent* (ii. 5), *approvest* (ii. 18), *propitiation* (iii. 25), *remission* (*id.*), *grace* (iv. 4), *glory* in tribulations (v. 3), *commendeth* (v. 8), *concupiscence* (vii. 7), *revealed* (viii. 18), *expectation* (viii. 19), (conformable, viii. 29), *confession is made* unto salvation (x. 10), *emulation* (xi. 14), *concluded* (xi. 32), *conformed* (xii. 2), *instant* (xii. 12), *contribution* (xv. 26).

Some English words.

There are also rarer cases in which the Rhemists furnish a true English phrase which has been adopted since, as *darkened* (Rom. i. 21), *foreknew* (xi. 2); nor is *overgoe* (1 Thess. iv. 6) unworthy of notice.

[1] All the quotations are made from the first editions. In the later (Irish) editions of the 'Rhemes and Doway' Bible and New Testament there are considerable alterations, and the text is far nearer to that in the A. V. Examples are given by Dr Cotton, *Rhemes and Doway* ... Oxford, 1853, pp. 183 ff.

§ 9. The Authorised Version.

The study of the Vulgate renewed.

The Rhemish Version of the New Testament, supported by Martin's attack on the English Bible, had once again called attention to the importance of the Latin Vulgate before the revision of King James was undertaken. During the sixteenth century this had been in a great degree thrust out of sight by the modern translations of Erasmus and Beza, which had influenced respectively the Great and the Genevan Bibles. At the same time the study of Hebrew and Greek had been pursued with continued zeal in the interval which had elapsed since the publication of the Bishops' Bible; and two important contributions had been made to the interpretation of the Old Testament.

New Latin Versions of the Old Testament. Arias Montanus.

In 1572 Arias Montanus, a Spanish scholar not unworthy to carry on the work of Ximenes, added to the Antwerp Polyglott, which he edited by the command of Philip II., an interlinear Latin translation of the Hebrew text, based on that of Pagninus, whose readings he added to his own. The translation is rigidly verbal, but none the less it helped to familiarize ordinary scholars with the exact forms of Hebrew idioms which were more or

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less hidden in the earlier versions. Seven years afterwards Tremellius, by birth a Jew, published an original Latin translation of the Old Testament (1579), with a commentary, which rapidly obtained a very extensive currency. His son-in-law Junius added a translation of the Apocrypha. The whole Bible was completed by a translation of the New Testament by Tremellius from the Syriac; but for this the New Testament of Beza was frequently substituted.

Tremellius.

Vernacular Versions.

Besides these works, which were designed for scholars, three important vernacular versions also had been published. In 1587-8 an authoritative revision of the French Bible was put forth by the 'venerable company of Pastors' at Geneva which was based upon a careful examination of the original texts. The chief part of the work is said to have been executed by B. C. Bertram, a Hebraist of distinguished attainments, and he was assisted by Beza, Goulart and others. An Italian translation was printed in the same city in 1607 by J. Diodati, who was a professor of Hebrew there. This translation has maintained its place to the present day, and though it is free, it is of very great excellence. In the mean time two Spanish versions had appeared, the first at Basle in 1569 by C. Reyna,

French.

Italian.

Spanish.

and the second, which was based on Reyna's, at Amsterdam in 1602 by C. de Valera. All these versions have an independent value, and when King James' revisers speak of their pains in consulting 'the Spanish, French and Italian translators,' there can be no doubt that it is to these they refer[1].

Thus King James' revisers were well furnished with external helps for the interpretation of the Bible, and we have already seen that they were competent to deal independently with questions of Hebrew and Greek scholarship. Like the earlier translators they suffered most from the corrupt form in which the Greek text of the New Testament was presented to them. But as a whole their work was done most carefully and honestly. It is possible to point out inconsistencies of rendering and other traces of compromise, but even in the minutest details the translation is that of a Church and not of a party. It differs from the Rhemish Version in seeking to fix an intelligible sense on the words rendered: it differs from the Genevan Version in leaving the literal rendering uncoloured by any expository notes[2]. And yet it is most worthy of

[1] The French version of Réné Bénoist [Benedictus] is said to have no independent value.

[2] The most extreme form in which Calvinistic opinion appears in the translation of the Bible is

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notice that these two Versions, representing as they do the opposite extremes of opinion, contributed most largely of all to the changes which the revisers introduced.

Use of the Genevan and Rhemish versions.

The important use which was made of the Rhemish and Genevan Versions shews that the revisers did not hold themselves to be closely bound by the instructions which were given them. These versions were not contained in the list which they were directed to consult; and on the other hand the cases are comparatively rare when they go back from the text of the Bishops' Bible to an

in the French translation of 1588, which has been severely criticized by P. Coton in his *Genève plagiaire* in connexion with the other Genevan versions. One or two examples may be quoted:

Rom. v. 6 desnuez de toute force ...du tout meschans.

—— x. 15 Sinon qu'il en ait qui soient envoyez.

Acts x. 34 qui s'addonne à justice (cf. Coton, p. 1614).

Phil. ii. 12 employez vouz à... (Coton, p. 1746).

John vi. 50 qui est descendu (Coton, p. 158).

—— 51 vivifiant (Coton, p. 174).

In all these places the English Genevan version is unobjectionable; but in other places an unfair bias appears:

Acts iii. 21 contain (cf. Coton, p. 255).

1 Cor. ix. 27 reproved (Coton, p. 1718).

1 Cor. iv. 6 that no man presume above that which is written (Coton, p. 1486).

And to this must be attributed the avoidance of the word 'tradition' in 1 Cor. xi. 1; 2 Thess. ii. 15; iii. 6.

One notable phrase at least has passed from the French through the Genevan Bible into our own: Jerem. xvii. 9 Le cœur est cauteleux et désespérément malin sur toutes choses (cf. Coton, 1926).

earlier English rendering. If indeed they had not interpreted liberally the license of judgment which was given them, they could not have accomplished their task. As it is, their work is itself a monument of the catholicity of their design.

An examination of the chapter of Isaiah which has been traced through the earlier versions will exhibit more clearly than a general description the method by which the revision was guided and the extent to which it was modified by the different authorities which the revisers consulted. The text of the Bishops' Bible is of course taken as the basis.

BISHOPS' BIBLE, 1568, 1572. *Is. liii.*

1 *But who* hath *given credence unto* our *preaching; or* to whom is the
2 arm of the Lord *known?* For he *did grow* before *the Lord like* as a *branch* and as a root *in* a dry ground: he hath *neither bounty* nor *favour; when* we *look upon* him there *shall be* no *fairness; we*
3 *shall have no lust unto* him. He is despised and *abhorred* of men: *he is such a man as hath good experience of sorrows and infirmities: we have reckoned him so vile that we* hid our faces from him.
4 *Howbeit* he *only* hath *taken on him* our *infirmity* and *borne* our *pains:* yet we did *judge* him *as though he were plagued and cast down* of God.

5 *Whereas* he [*notwithstanding*] was wounded for
our *offences, and smitten* for our *wickedness: for*
the pain of our *punishment* was *laid* upon him,
6 and with his stripes *are we* healed. *As for us*
we *are all* gone astray like sheep, every one *hath*
turned his own way; *but* the Lord hath *thrown*
7 upon him *all our sins.* He *suffered violence* and
was evil intreated, and aid not open his mouth.
He *shall be led* as a *sheep* to *be slain, yet shall he*
be as still as a *lamb* before *the shearer and not*
8 *open* his mouth. From *the* prison *and* judgment
was he taken, and *his* generation who *can* de-
clare? For he was cut off *from the ground* of
the living, *which punishment did go upon him* for
9 the transgression of my people. His grave *was*
given him with the *condemned,* and with the rich
man at his death, *whereas* he *did never* violence
nor unright, neither *hath there been* any deceit-
10 *fulness* in his mouth. Yet *hath* it pleased the
Lord to *smite* him *with infirmity, that* when *he*
had made his soul an offering for sin, he *might*
see *long lasting* seed: and *this device* of the
11 Lord shall prosper in his hand. Of the travail
and labour of his soul *shall he see the fruit* and
be satisfied. My righteous servant shall *with*
his knowledge justify *the multitude,* for he shall

12 bear their *sins*. Therefore will I *give* him *among* the great *ones his part*, and he shall divide the spoil with the *mighty*, because he *giveth over* his soul *to* death, and *is reckoned among* the transgressors; *which nevertheless hath taken away* the *sins* of *the multitude* and made intercession for the *misdoers*.

1 *Who* hath *believed* our *report*[1] (will believe our *report* Genevan). *credidit* Pagninus. credit Tremellius (1)

— *and* so G. P. T. (2)

— *revealed* so G. *revelatum est* P. revelatur T. (3)

2 *shall grow up* before *him* as a *tender plant* (*shall* grow...as a branch G.) (*tenera planta* T.) (4)

— *out of* a so G. T. (5)

— *no form* nor *comeliness* (neither *form* nor beauty G.) *non ei forma neque decor* P. T. (6)

— *and when* we *shall see* him so G. (vidimus P. quando intuemur T.) (7)

— there *is* no *beauty that we should desire* him. (there shall be no form *that...him* G.) et non aspectus *ut desideraremus eum* P. *non inest species* cur... T. (8)

[1] The renderings given are those of the Authorised Version corresponding to the italicised words in the text of the Bishops' Bible.

3 *rejected* of so G. (abjectus inter viros P. abjectissimus virorum T.) (9)

— *a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief.* (a man full of sorrows and hath exp. of infirmities G.) *vir dolorum et expertus infirmitatem* P. otherwise T. (10)

— *and* we hid *as it were* our faces from him; *he was despised and we esteemed him not* so G. and P. otherwise T., velut homo abscondens faciem a nobis... (11)

4 *surely* he hath *borne* our *griefs* (infirmities G. languores T.) and *carried* our *sorrows* so G. T. P. (12)

— *esteem* him *stricken, smitten* of God, *and afflicted* (judge him as plagued, and *smitten* of God and humbled G.) et nos reputavimus eum plagatum, percussum a Deo et humiliatum (*afflictum* T.) T. P. (13)

5 *But* he was... so G. (14)

transgressions so G. (15)

— *he was bruised* (broken G.) for our *iniquities.* (so G.) (16)

— *the chastisement* of our *peace* was upon him G. P. T. (17)

— *we are* G. (18)

6 *All* we, like sheep, *have* gone astray G. (19)

6 *we have turned* every one *to* his... G. (20)
— *and* G. (21)
— *laid* on (upon G.) him *the iniquity of us all* G. (P. T.) (22)
7 He *was oppressed* and *he was afflicted, yet he opened not* (did not open G.)...(so G.) (23)
— he *is brought* as a *lamb* (sheep G.) to *the slaughter, and* as a *sheep* before *her shearers* (shearer G.) *is dumb, so he openeth not...* (so G. T.) (ducetur...non aperiet P.) (24)
8 He *was taken* from (out from G.) prison *and from* judgment *and who shall* declare his generation (age G.) (so G. P. T.) (25)
— cut off (cut G.) *out of the land* of... (so G.) (26)
— for the tr. of m. p. *was he stricken* (plagued G.) (so G.) (27)
9 And *he made* (dedit P.) his grave with the *wicked.* G. T. P. (populus exposuit improbis sepulturam ipsius T.) (28)
— the rich *in...* G. (29)
— *because* he *had done no* violence... (though *he had done no* wickedness G.) eo quod non iniquitatem fecerit P. *eo quod non fecit violentiam...* T. (30)
— neither *was* any *deceit...* G. (31)
10 Yet it pleased the Lord to *bruise* him; *he hath*

put him to grief: (yet the Lord would break him and make him subject to infirmities G.) *Et Dominus voluit contendere eum, aegrotare fecit* P. similarly T. (32)

10 when *thou shalt make* his... (when he shall make his... G.) (si posuerit seipsam pro delicto anima sua P.) (quandoquidem exponebat se ipse sacrificium pro reatu dicens T.) (33)

— *he shall* see *his* seed, *he* (and G.) *shall prolong his days*, and *the pleasure* (will G.) of... (so G. P. T.) (34)

11 *He shall see* of the travail of... and *shall be*... so G. (35)

— *by his* knowledge shall my righteous servant justify *many* G. P. T. (36)

— *iniquities* G. P. (37)

12 *divide* (give G.) him *a portion with* the great... (so G.) (in multis P. pro multis T.) (38)

— *strong* G. P. (39)

— *hath poured out...unto...* G. P. (T.) (40)

— *he was numbered* (counted G.) *with...* (so G.) P. T. (41)

— *and he bare* the *sin* of *many*... so G. P. (T.) (42)

— *transgressors* (trespassers G.) (43)

Analysis of the changes.

Thus as far as the variations admit of being reduced to a numerical form about seven-eighths are due to the Genevan version, either alone or in agreement with one or both of the Latin Versions. Two renderings appear to be due to Tremellius (4, 30): the same number to Pagninus (10, 32), including the noble rendering 'a man of sorrows 'and acquainted with grief.' Three times the Genevan translation is abandoned (30, 32, 33); and once the rendering appears to be independent (33). But throughout the most delicate care is given to the choice of words, and there is scarcely a verse which does not bear witness to the wisdom and instinctive sense of fitness by which it was guided, e. g. 2 no *beauty*... (3 *a man of sorrows*...) 4 our *griefs* ...*stricken*... 5 *bruised*... 7 as a *lamb*... 10 *put him to grief*... 12 *transgressors*. Even subtleties of rhythm are not to be disregarded, as 7 he *opened not*... 8 *from* prison... 12 *numbered*...; nor yet the endeavour after a more exact representation of the original, as 10 *he* shall... 12 *divide*...

General character of the revision.

The example which has been taken is undoubtedly an extreme one, but it only represents on an exaggerated scale the general relation in which the Authorised Version stands to the Genevan and Bishops' Bibles in the Prophetical books. In the

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Historical, and even in the Poetical books, it is far less divergent from the Bishops' Bible. In the Apocrypha it is, as far as I can judge, nearer to the Bishops' Bible than to the Genevan, but marked by many original changes. A passage from Wisdom, which has been already examined[1], will be sufficient to shew the character of the revision in this part of the Bible, and the independent freedom with which the reviser performed his work.

Wisdom vii.

BISHOPS' BIBLE, 1568 — 1572. 15 God hath granted me to speak *what my mind conceiveth* and to *think* as is meet for the things that are given me: *for* it is he that leadeth unto wisdom and *teacheth to use wisdom aright.*

16 For in his hand are both we and our words, *yea* all *our* wisdom and knowledge of [*his*] *works.*

17 For he hath given me *the true science* of the things that are, *so that I* know how the world was made and the *powers* of the elements:

18 the beginning, ending and midst of the times, *how the times alter, how one goeth after another, and how they are fulfilled,*

19 the *course of the year, the ordinances of the* stars,

[1] p. 283.

20 the natures of living *things*, *the furiousness* of *beasts*, the *power of the* winds, *the imaginations* of men, the diversities of *young* plants, *the* virtues of roots;

21 and all such things as are either secret or manifest, them *have I learnt*...

27 And being [but] one, she (wisdom) can do all things, and remaining in herself she *reneweth all*, and in all ages of times entering into holy souls, she *maketh God's friends* and prophets,

28 for God loveth none, *if he dwell not* with wisdom.

29 For she is more beautiful than the sun and *giveth more light than the* stars, *and the day is not to be compared unto her.*

30 For *upon the day* cometh night, but *wickedness cannot overcome* wisdom.

15 *what...conceiveth: as I would ex sententia* Junius (1)

— *think: conceive* (Greek) (2)

— *for* G.: *because* (3)

— *teacheth...aright: directeth the wise.* (director of the wise G.) (4)

16 *yea* all *our* wisdom: all wisdom *also* (5)

— [*his*] *works: workmanship* (opificiorum scientia J.) (6)

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17 *the true science: certain knowledge cognitionem certam* J. (7)

— *so that I* G.: *namely to* (8)

— *powers* G.: *operation* (Gr.?) (9)

18 *how...fulfilled: the alterations of the turning of* the sun *and the change of seasons* (how the times alter *and the change of the seasons* G.) *solstitiorum mutationes* et *varietates temporum* J. (10)

19 *course...of the: the circuits of years and the positions of: anni circuitus et stellarum situs* J. (11)

20 *things* G.: *creatures* (12)

— *the...beasts* G.: the *furies of wild* beasts (Gr.) (13)

— *power...the* G.: *the violence of* (Gr.) (14)

— *the imaginations* G.: *and the reasonings* (Gr.) (15)

— *young:* om so G. J. (Gr.) (16)

— the: *and* the G. J. (Gr.) (17)

21 *have I learnt: I know* G. J. (18)

27 *reneweth all* G.: *maketh all things new* (19)

— *maketh God's friends: maketh them friends of God.* G. (*the f.*) (20)

28 *if...but* G.: *but him that dwelleth nisi eum qui habitat* J. (Gr.) (21)

29 *giveth...the: above all the order of* (G. *is* above ...*the* stars) (22)

29 *and the...her: being compared with the light, she is found before it cum luce comparata prior esse deprehenditur* J. (Gr.) (23)

30 *upon the day: after this* (24)

— *wickedness...overcome* G.: *vice shall not prevail against sapientiæ non est prævalitura malitia* J. (25)

Of these changes three seem to be due to Junius (10, 11, 25) and perhaps four others (1, 6, 7, 23): two to the Genevan version (4, 18), and perhaps two others (16, 17): the remainder are either linguistic (3, 5, 8, 12, 19) or closer renderings of the Greek (2, 9, 13—15, 20—22, 24).

The marginal renderings in Malachi.

The marginal renderings offer a certain clue to the authorities on which the revisers chiefly relied; and an analysis of those given in Malachi fully confirms the conclusions which have been already obtained.

Malachi i. 1 by: *Heb.* by the hand of.

5 from: *or* upon *Heb.* from upon.

7 ye offer: *or* bring unto &c. (1)

8 for sacrifice: *Heb.* to sacrifice.

9 God: *Heb.* the face of God.

— by your means: *Heb.* from your hand.

13 and ye have snuffed at it (Münster

Genevan): *or* whereas you might have blown it away, quum id vel difflare possitis Castalio; quum exsufflare possitis illud Tremellius (2)

14 which hath in his flock (G.): *or* in whose flock is. (quum sit in grege ipsius T.) (3)

ii. 3 corrupt (G.): *or* reprove increpabo Leo Juda. (4)

— spread: scatter spargam M. J. (5)

— *one* shall take you away with it: *or* it shall take you away with it. (et tollet vos ad se M. Similarly Pagninus J.: otherwise G.) it shall take you with it Rhemish. ut abripiat vos ad se T. (6)

8 stumble at the law: *or* fall in the law (fall by...G.) (impingere in lege M. J.) (7)

9 have been partial in (G.): *Heb.* accepted faces, *or* lifted up the face against attollitis faciem contra legem T. (8)

11 loved (G. and all except T.): *or* ought to love amaturus fuerat T. (9)

12 the master and the scholar: or him

that worketh and him that answereth, so M. T. (10)

15 residue: *or* excellency, so P. (11)

— a godly seed: *Heb.* a seed of God.

— treacherously: *or* unfaithfully. (12)

16 that he hateth putting away (so Fr. 1588. Sibi odio esse dimissionem ait T.): *or* If he hate *her*, put *her* away (similarly P. M. J. C. G.). *Heb.* to put away. (13)

iii. 4 former: *or* ancient P. (14)

5 oppress: *or* defraud fraudant C. (15)

10 pour you out: *Heb.* empty out.

11 destroy: *Heb.* corrupt.

14 his ordinance: *Heb.* his observation.

— mournfully: *Heb.* in black.

15 are set up: *Heb.* are built.

17 jewels (mes plus précieux ioyaux Fr. 1588): *or* special treasure. peculium M. J. C. T. (16)

Thus of the sixteen alternative renderings four are found in Tremellius (2, 3, 8, 9), four in Münster with Leo Juda or Tremellius or both (5, 7, 10, 16), two in Pagninus (11, 14), one in Castalio (15), one in the Genevan (13), the Rhemish (6) and Leo Juda's Version (4) respectively; while two alone

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cannot be certainly referred to any one of these authorities (1, 12).

The revision of the New Testament.

The revision of the New Testament was a simpler work than that of the Old, and may be generally described as a careful examination of the Bishops' Version (1572) with the Greek text, and with Beza's, the Genevan, and the Rhemish Versions. Examples of words derived from the Rhemish Version have been given already, but the use of this version is so remarkable that it may be well to add more unequivocal proofs of its reality.

Use of the Rhemish Version.

Thus in the Epistle to the Romans the following phrases are found which are common, I believe, to the Rhemish and Authorised Versions alone; and it is impossible that the coincidences can have been accidental[1].

[1] Some of the phrases, it may be noticed, are found also in Wycliffe, and these may be taken to represent the amount of natural coincidences in two versions made independently from the Latin.

A still more certain proof of the influence of the Rhemish Version (Vulgate) on A. V. is found in changes of words and phrases in the earlier version which had been objected to by Romish controversialists. Thus, among renderings identical with, if not adopted from, those of the Rhemish Version in passages objected to by Martin, the following may be mentioned:

Matt. ii. 6 *rule.*
— xxvi. 26 *blessed.*
John ix. 22 *put out of the synagogue.*
Acts i. 26 *numbered with.*
— iii. 21 heaven must *receive.*
— xiv. 23 *ordained* (*for* ordained *by election*).
James v. 16 *confess.*

i. 10 *if by any means*
— 13 I would *not have you ignorant*
— 23 *changed* the glory (so 25)
— 28 did not *like* (*liked* not Rh.)
ii. 5 *revelation* of the just j.
— 10 *glory, honour and peace to every* man *that worketh good*
— 13 *for not the hearers of the law are just*
— 15 *the work* of the law
iii. 7 *why* yet *am I also judged as a sinner*
v. 3 *and not only* so
— 15 *but not as the offence so also*
x. 10 with the mouth *confession is made* to salvation
xi. 14 *provoke to emulation*
xii. 16 be not wise *in your own conceits*
xiii. 4 minister un*to thee for good*
— 8 owe *no man anything*
xiv. 9 for *to this end*

The relation in which the different authorities stand to one another in the execution of the revision will appear from an analysis of the changes in a passage of moderate difficulty.

2 Cor. ii. 10 *person.*
— iv. 17 *worketh.*
2 Thes. ii. 15 *traditions.*
Tit. iii. 5 *regeneration.*
Hebr. xii. 23 *Church.*
Other passages objected to, as Eph. v. 5, Col. iii. 5, Tit. iii. 10 were altered already in the Genevan Version: others, as Tit. iii. 10, were altered independently in the Authorised Version.

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BISHOPS' BIBLE, 1572. 5 Let your conversation be without covetousness *being* content with such things as ye have. For he hath said I will *in no case* (*not* 1568) *fail* thee *neither* forsake thee.

Hebrews xiii.

6 So that we may boldly say the Lord is my helper and I will not fear what man *may* do unto me.

7 Remember them which have the *oversight of* you, *which* have spoken unto you the word of God, whose *end of conversation ye considering follow their faith.*

8 Jesus Christ *yesterday* and today and *the same* for ever.

9 Be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines, for it is a good thing that the heart be *stablished* with grace *and* not with meats, which have not profited them that have been occupied therein.

10 We have an altar whereof they have no right to eat which serve in the tabernacle.

11 For the bodies of those beasts whose blood is brought into the *holy place* by the high priest for sin are burnt without the *tents.*

12 *Therefore* Jesus also that he might sanctify the

people with his own blood suffered without the gate.

13 Let us go forth therefore unto him *out of the tents*, bearing his reproach,

14 For here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come.

15 By him therefore let us (*do we* 1568) offer *sacrifice* of *laud always to God*, that is the fruit of *lips confessing* his name.

16 *To do* good and to *distribute* forget not, for with such *sacrifice* (*sacrifices* 1568) God is *pleased.*

5 *being: and be* Genevan (1)
— *not fail* G.: *never leave* (*not leave* Rhemish) (2)
— *neither* G.: *nor* (3)
6 *may: shall* Rh. *facturus est* Tremellius (can G.) (4)
7 *oversight of* G.: *rule over* (gubernatorum Tr.) (5)
— *which* G.: *who* (6)
— *end...faith: whose faith follow considering the end of their conversation.* (whose f. f. c. *what hath been* the end of their c. G.) (7)
8 yesterday: *the same* yesterday (G. R. different) (8)

8 *the same:* omit (9)
9 *stablished* G.: *established* Rh. (10)
— *and* G.: omit, so Rh. (11)
11 *holy place* G.: *sanctuary sacrarium* Beza (12)
— *tents: camp* G. (13)
12 *therefore* G.: *wherefore quapropter* B. (14)
13 *out...tents: without the camp* Rh. (*out of the camp* G.) (15)
15 sacrifice: *the* sacrifice G. (16)
— *laud always* to God: *praise* to God *continually* (*praise always to God* G. Rh.) (17)
— lips: *our* lips (*the* lips G.) (18)
— *confessing: giving thanks to* (*quæ gratias agunt* Tr.) (G. different) (19)
16 to do G.: *but* to do beneficentiæ *vero* B. (20)
— *distribute* G.: *communicate* (communication Rh. B.) (21)
— *sacrifice: sacrifices* Bishops' 1568 (22)
— pleased G.: *well* pleased (23)

Thus about seven changes are due to Beza (12, 14, 20) or the Genevan version (1, 7, 13, 16); nearly an equal number to the Rhemish (2, 4, 10, 11, 15, 21); two were perhaps suggested by Tremellius' version of the Syriac (5, 20); and seven are original, reckoning three linguistic variations (3, 6, 17).

The use of Beza's Version.

The chief influence of the Rhemish Version was on the vocabulary of the revisers, that of Beza and the Genevan Version on the interpretation. But still our revisers exercise an independent judgment both in points of language and construction. Thus in the latter respect they often follow Beza, rightly and wrongly, when the Genevan Versions do not; and again they fail to follow him where these had rightly adopted his rendering. In the former class such passages as these occur:

Mark xi. 17 called *of* all nations.
ab omnibus gentibus (*Beza*).

Rom. vii. 6 that being dead wherein...
mortuo eo in quo... (*Beza*).

Hebr. xi. 13 and *embraced* them.
postquam et *amplexi* fuissent (*Beza*).

1 John ii. 19 *they went out* that...
egressi sunt ex nobis ut... (*Beza*).

On the other hand the Authorised Version retains (by no means unfrequently) the old rendering of the Great Bible when it had been rightly corrected from Beza in the Genevan revisions:

Matt. xxviii. 14 if this come to the governor's ears.
come *before* the governor (*Gen.*)

periculum erat ne milites apud Pilatum *deferrentur* (*Beza note*).

Act. xxviii. 4 *suffereth* not to live

hath not suffered (Gen.) (non *sivit* (*Beza*): servanda præteriti temporis significatio). Comp. 1 John v. 4 *vicit*.

Eph. iv. 18 *blindness*.

hardness (*Gen.*)

obdurationem (*Beza*).

1 Pet. i. 17 If ye *call on the* Father...

If...ye *call him* Father... (*Gen.*)

Si patrem *cognominatis eum* qui... (*Beza*).

And still further, some right renderings of Beza are neglected both by the Genevan revisers and by our own:

Mark vii. 4 *tables*.

lectorum (Beza: so Vulg.: *beds Wycl.* and *Rh.*).

2 Tim. vi. 5 that *gain is godliness*.

quæstui esse pietatem (*Beza*)[1].

[1] Archbp. Trench, to whom I owe the references to most of the examples just given, has collected some very instructive instances of improvements (p. 121): Hebr. iv. 1: Acts xii. 19 (Beza's note): John i. 3, 4: Acts i. 4 (Beza); and striking phrases (p. 37): Acts iii. 15; Hebr. ii. 10; xii. 1. The list might easily be increased. It is unfortunate that Archbp. Trench, like many other writers, confounds the Genevan Testament of 1557 with the New Testament of the Genevan Bible.

Analysis of various renderings in St Mark.

If we apply the same test as before and examine the sources of the various renderings given in St Mark, the same authorities, as we have already noticed, reappear, and not disproportionately distributed.

Mark

i. 4 for: unto Rhemish (1)

— 10 opened: cloven Genevan (2) *or* rent (se fendre Fr. 1588) (2)

— 34 to speak because they knew him: to say that they knew him (to speak that Rh.) so Beza as alternative and Fr. (4)

ii. 14 at the receipt of custom: at the place where the custom was received (au lieu du peage Fr.) (5)

— 21 new: raw Rh. (6) *or* unwrought (new and undressed G. T. escru Fr.) (7)

iii. 5 hardness: blindness Tyndale, Great Bible, Rh. (8)

— 10 pressed: rushed (Vulgate and Erasmus *irruerent*) (9)

— 19 into an house: home G. (10)

— 21 friends: kinsmen (kinsfolk G.) (11)

iv. 29 brought forth: ripe adolevit Castalio. (12)

vi. 19 a quarrel: an inward grudge (en auoit à lui Fr.) (13)

vi. 20 observed him: kept him Rh. (le gardoit en prison Fr. mg.) (14) *or* saved him (15)

— 27 an executioner: one of his guard (erant spiculatores principum: satellites Beza) (16)

— 45 unto Beth.: over against Beth. Beth. oppositam B. (17)

— 56 him: it (so B. as alternative) (18)

vii. 2 defiled: common Ty. &c. (19)

— 3 oft: diligently (summo studio B. note) *in the original* with the first: Theophylact [quoted by B.] up to the elbow. (20)

— 4 tables: beds Rh. B. (21)

— 9 reject: frustrate Rh. (22)

— 26 Greek: Gentile Rh. (23)

ix. 16 with them: among yourselves G. (24)

— 18 teareth him: dasheth him Rh. (25)

— 43, 47 offend thee: cause thee to offend. G. (26)

x. 42 are accounted qui reputantur (Tremellius): think good (qui font estat Fr.) quibus placet B. (27)

— 52 made thee whole: saved thee Ty. &c. (28)

xi. 22 Have faith in God: have the faith *of* God (have faith of God Rh.) (29)

— 29 question: thing Ty. &c. (30)

xiv. 3 spikenard: pure nard (nard that was pure... T. &c.) (31) *or* liquid nard (so B.) (32)

xiv. 12 killed: sacrificed G. (33)

— 26 hymn: psalm (34)

— 72 he wept: he wept abundantly (35) *or* he began to weep Ty. &c. (36)

xvi. 14 at meat: together G. (37)

Thus of the thirty-seven alternative renderings nearly one-half agree with the Genevan version (2, 7, 10, 11, 24, 26, 33, 37) or Beza's (3, 4, 16—18, 20, 21, 26, 32); six agree with the Rhemish version (1, 6, 14, 22, 23, 25); three more or less with the French (3, 5, 13); six with the earlier English versions; one with Castalio (12); and one with the Vulgate (9).

General review of 1 John.

Once again: the examination of the first Epistle of St John will shew very fairly how far K. James' revisers generally availed themselves in the New Testament of earlier labours and how far they impressed a special character upon the Version. In six (four) places, if I reckon rightly, they have altered the construction of the text:

i. 3 'and *truly* our fellowship *is* with...'
for '*that* our fellowship *may be* with...'

(ii. 19 'they went out that they might be...' so Beza)

(ii. 29 '*ye know* that...' B.)

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for '*know ye* that...' so *marg.* 'ye have known' (G.)

iii. 16 'Hereby perceive we the love of God, because...' (B.)

for 'hereby perceive we (have we perceived G.) love, that (because Great Bible)...

iv. 17 'Herein is our love (love with us *marg.* so B.) made perfect, that...'

for 'Herein is the love perfect in us, that...'

v. 6 'This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ...' (so B.)

for 'This Jesus Christ is he that came...' (Tyndale, G. B.)

or 'This is that Jesus Christ that came...' (G.)

The changes of words are far more frequent, and of these a large number introduce phrases identical with those used in the Rhemish Version. Examples occur i. 9 *confess* for [*ac*]*knowledge*: ii. 2 (iv. 10) 'he is the *propitiation for*...' for 'he *it is that obtaineth grace for*...' iv. 10 '*to make agreement for*...' (*propitiatio* Vulg.): ii. 17 'he that *doeth*...' for 'he that *fulfilleth*...': ii. 20 'an *unction*' for 'an *ointment*': ii. 26 *seduce* for *deceive* (*seducunt* Vulg.): ii. 28 (iii. 21, v. 14) 'have *confidence*' for '*be bold*' (*habeamus fiduciam* Vulg.): iii. 15 *murderer* for *man-*

slayer: v. 20 'an *understanding* that...' for '*a mind to...*' (*sensum ut* cognoscamus Vulg.)[1].

In other cases the revisers aimed at a more literal exactness, as in iii. 14 *have passed* for *are translated*: iv. 18 '*made* perfect' for '*is* perfect': iii. 1 *bestowed* for *shewed*: iii. 9 '*doth not commit sin*' for '*sinneth not*': iii. 6, 22 (article): v. 9, 10 (tense); or at consistency of rendering, as ii. 27 *abideth* (*dwelleth*): iii. 10 *manifest* (*known*)[1]; or at clearness, as ii. 24, iii. 8 '*that he might destroy* the works of the devil' for '*to loose...*' (iv. 3, v. 16); or at emphasis, as ii. 3 *do* know... Once an unhappy combination of renderings is attempted, ii. 17 '*Bowels of compassion...*' (*Bowels* Rh. *compassion* Tynd. &c.): once a neater word is introduced, iii. 3 *purifieth* (*purgeth*)[3].

[1] Other coincidences are found: ii. 8 *which thing*... ii. 9 until *now* ... ii. 10 occasion of *stumbling* (marg. *scandal*): (ii. 5): iv. 15 *shall* confess.

[2] The converse change of 'record' to 'witness' in v. 8 is quite inexplicable.

[3] The substitution of 'torment' for 'painfulness' in v. 18 is less completely successful: neither word renders κόλασις.

The scrupulous and watchful care with which the revisers worked is nowhere seen more remarkably than in their use of italics to mark the introduction of words not directly represented in the original. The detail may seem at first sight trivial, and Luther neglected it entirely; but in reality it involves much that is of moment. It is of importance as marking distinctly that the work is a translation; and yet more the use distinguishes

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This analysis, in which I have endeavoured to include all the variations introduced into the Authorised Version, will shew better than any description the watchful and far-reaching care with which the revisers fulfilled their work. No kind of emendation appears to have been neglected; and almost every change which they introduced was an improvement. They did not in every case carry out the principles by which they were generally directed; they left many things which might have been wisely modified; they paid no more attention than was commonly paid in their time to questions of reading[1]: but when every deduction is made for inconsistency of practice and inadequacy of method, the conclusion yet remains absolutely indisputable that their work issued in a version of the Bible better—

in many cases an interpretation from a rendering: *e.g.* Hebr. x. 38. This question has been exhaustively treated by Dr Turton in his pamphlet on *The Text of the English Bible* (1833), who shews conclusively that the Cambridge text of 1638 bears clear marks of representing very exactly the true form of the Authorised Revision. In the use of italics it is far more consistent than the editions of 1611, which seem to have been hastily printed.

[1] I have given an account of the Greek text followed by the revisers in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, II. 524 n. But the question is of no real importance, as they do not appear to have been influenced by any consistent critical views, and the variations are too superficial to admit a general classification or discussion.

because more faithful to the original—than any which had been given in English before[1].

[1] It is impossible to enter here upon the question of the language of the Authorised Version. Linguistic changes were common in each successive revision as has been already noticed; but it does not at once follow that no archaisms were retained. The following examples of old words contained in the Genevan Bible and altered in A. V. are interesting. I am indebted for them to an anonymous Essay called *English retracted* (Cambridge, 18—) which contains many excellent criticisms on the English of the Genevan Version. The readings of A. V. are given in ( ). The other notation is as before.

Ex. xxviii. 8 gard. Genevan. (girdle so Matthew Bishops'.)
1 Sam. ii. 26 profited and grew M. G. Bp. (grew on)
1 Sam. xxv. 18 frailes (*mg.* clusters) G. Bp. bondelles M. (clusters *mg.* lamps)
1 K. xx. 39 be lost and want G. be missed M. be missed or lost Bp. (be missing)
2 K. xix. 24 plant G. soles M. step of my going Bp. (sole)
Ps. cxxxvi. 23 base G. when we were brought low Bp. (low)
Ps. cxlii. 7 art beneficial G. (shalt deal bountifully)
Prov. xxii. 6 in the trade of his way G. (in the way he should go. *mg.* in his way)
Is. xxiii. 8 chapmen G. factors Bp. (traffickers)
Mark v. 35 diseasest Tyndale, Great Bible, G. Bp. (troublest)
Mark x. 41 disdain at Ty. G. B. G. Bp. (be much displeased with)
Mark xii. 42 quadrin G. (farthing Ty. G. B. Bp.)
Mark xv. 26 cause Ty. G. B. G. Bp. (accusation)
Acts xxi. 35, 40 a grece Ty. a stair G. B. the greces G. (the stairs so Bp.)
Acts xxi. 15 made ourselves ready Ty. took up our burthens G. B. Bp. trussed up our fardels G. (took up our carriages)
Acts xxv. 18 accusation Ty. G. B. Genevan Test. Bp. crime G.
Rom. xiv. 16 treasure Ty. G. B. commodity G. (good so Bp.)
2 Cor. ix. 9 sparsed Ty. G. B. G. Bp. (dispersed)
2 Cor. xii. 17 pill Ty. G. B. G. Bp. (make a gain of)
Tit. i. 8 herberous Ty. harberous G. a keeper of hospitality G. B. (a lover of hospitality so Bp.)

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2 Tim. iv. 2 improve Ty. G. B. G. Bp. (reprove)
Heb. viii. 2 pight Ty. G. B. G. Bp. (pitched)
1 Pet. iv. 9 herberous Ty. G. B. G. Bp. (use hospitality) See above, Tit. i. 8.

The valuable *Bible Word-Book* (1866) of Mr Eastwood and Mr Aldis Wright furnishes an admirable foundation for a study of the English of A. V. There can hardly be a more instructive lesson in English than to trace to their first appearance a number of the archaisms there noticed. It will appear that not a few of them are due to K. James' revisers themselves and not to the earlier texts. The charges brought by the Rhemists against the language of the earlier English Versions are all summed up by Martin and met by Fulke, *Defence of the English translations*, pp. 218, 569 (ed. P. S.). The argument of Martin, it will be seen, loses all its point, when applied to the Authorised Version.

CONCLUSION.

THUS step by step and in slow degrees, under every variety of influence, the English Bible assumed its present shape; and the record of its progress is still partially shewn in our public services. Among its other manifold memorials of the past, the Book of Common Prayer preserves clear traces of this eventful history. Some of the scriptural translations which it contains are original, some are from the Great Bible, some from the Authorised Version. The Offertory sentences and the 'comfortable words' are not taken from any version, but are a rendering of the Latin, made probably by Cranmer. The same independence is found in the Evangelic Hymns, the *Benedictus*, the *Magnificat* and the *Nunc dimittis*, which differ more or less from the Great Bible and the Authorised Version. But even here the labour of correction was not neglected; for after their introduction into the first Prayer-Book of 1548 these Hymns were elaborately revised in 1549 and again in 1552. So also

The Prayer Book contains traces of the three stages of translation.

Original renderings from the Vulgate.

the *Benedicite* was revised in 1549 and the burden of the Hymn was altered throughout in 1552.

Passages from the Great Bible.

The Psalms *Venite, Jubilate, Cantate, Deus misereatur*, agree almost literally with the Great Bible (April 1540), though even in these there are traces of a minute and careful revision; and the same remark holds true also of the Psalms in the Occasional Services[1].

The Psalter.

But the great and enduring monument of the earlier Version of Coverdale and Cranmer is the Psalter itself, which had, as we have seen, become so completely identified with the expression of religious feeling that it was felt to be impossible to displace it. When the last changes in the Prayer-Book were made it was found, it is said, smoother to sing; but this is not a full account of the matter, and it cannot be mere familiarity which gives to the Prayer-Book Psalter, with all its errors and imperfections, an incomparable tenderness and sweetness. Rather we may believe that in it we can yet find the spirit of him whose work it mainly is, full of humility and love, not heroic or creative, but patient to accomplish by God's help the task which

[1] Two changes of tense are worthy of notice. In the *Cantate* (Ps. xcviii. 9) 'he *cometh*' is read for 'he *is come;*' and in Ps. cxvi. 4 (The Churching of Women) 'I *found*,' 'I *called*' for 'I *shall find*,' and 'I *will call*.'

had been set him to do, and therefore best in harmony with the tenour of our own daily lives.

Passages from the Authorised Version.

But when the Psalter and the Hymns were left unaltered in 1662 the Introductory Sentences, and the Epistles and Gospels were at last taken from the Authorised Version. Up to that time the Epistles and Gospels had been printed from the Great Bible with a few, perhaps unintentional, discrepancies, and the Introductory Sentences, like those at present in the Communion Service, had been an original translation. Thus the cycle was completed, and each great stage in the history of our Bible represented in the Prayer-Book.

Historic characteristics of the Version.

Whatever else may be thought of the story which has been thus imperfectly told, enough has been said to shew that the history of the English Scriptures is, as was remarked by anticipation, unique. The other great vernacular versions of Europe are the works of single men, definitely stamped with their impress and bearing their names. A German writer somewhat contemptuously remarks that it took nearly a century to accomplish in England the work which Luther achieved in the fraction of a single life-time. The reproach is exactly our glory. Our version is the work of a

Church and not of a man. Or rather it is a growth and not a work. Countless external influences, independent of the actual translators, contributed to mould it; and when it was fashioned the Christian instinct of the nation, touched, as we believe, by the Spirit of God, decided on its authority. But at the same time, as if to save us from that worship of the letter, which is the counterfeit of true and implicit devotion to the sacred text, the same original words are offered to us in other forms in our Prayer-Book, and thus the sanction of use is distinguished from the claims to finality. Our Bible in virtue of its past is capable of admitting revision, if need be, without violating its history. As it gathered into itself, during the hundred years in which it was forming, the treasures of manifold labours, so it still has the same assimilative power of life.

Compared with the Vulgate.

One Version only in old times, the Latin Vulgate, can in this respect be compared with it. This also was formed by private efforts silently and slowly till it was acknowledged by the acceptance of the Western Church. One supremely great man, Jerome, partly revised and partly renewed it, and by a strange coincidence even he could not displace the old Psalter which had been adopted

for public use. But the English Bible has what the Latin Bible, as far as we know, had not. It has not only the prerogative of vitality while the other has been definitely fixed in one shape, but it has also the seal of martyrdom upon it. In this too it differs from the other great modern versions. Luther defied his enemies to the last. Lefèvre in extreme old age mourned that when the opportunity was given him he had not been found worthy to give up his life for Christ. Calvin died sovereign at Geneva. But Tyndale, who gave us our first New Testament from the Greek, was strangled for his work at Vilvorde: Coverdale, who gave us our first printed Bible, narrowly escaped the stake by exile: Rogers, to whom we owe the multiform basis of our present Version, was the first victim of the Marian persecution: Cranmer, who has left us our Psalter, was at last blessed with a death of triumphant agony.

Crowned by martyrdom.

The work was crowned by martyrdom and the workmen laboured at it in the faith and with the love of martyrs. The solemn words in which they commend the Bible to their readers, the prayers which they offer for the spiritual enlightenment of their countrymen, the confessions which they make of their own insufficiency, have even now lost

Words of the translators.

nothing of their eloquence. These are the moral of the story.

CRANMER. 'Every man,' writes Cranmer, 'that cometh to 'the reading of this holy Book ought to bring with 'him first and foremost [the] feare of almighty 'God, and then next a firm and stable purpose to 'reform his own self according thereunto, and so 'to continue, proceed and prosper from time to 'time, shewing himself to be a sober and a fruitful 'hearer and learner, which if he shall do he shall 'prove at length well able to teach, though not 'with his mouth, yet with his living and good 'example, which is sure the most lively and effec-'tuous form and manner of teaching.'

COVERDALE. 'As for the commendation of God's holy Scrip-'ture,' writes Coverdale, 'I would fain magnify it 'as it is worthy, but I am far insufficient thereto 'and therefore I thought it better for me to hold 'my tongue than with few words to praise or com-'mend it; exhorting thee, most dear reader, so to 'love it, so to cleave unto it, and so to follow it in 'thy daily conversation, that other men seeing thy 'good works and the fruits of the Holy Ghost in 'thee may praise the Father of heaven and give 'this word a good report, for to live after the law 'of God and to lead a virtuous conversation is the

greatest praise that thou canst give unto his doc-
'trine.....'

'I have here translated,' writes Tyndale, and these were his first words, 'brethren and sisters, 'most dear and tenderly beloved in Christ, the 'New Testament for your spiritual edifying, con- 'solation and solace; exhorting instantly and be- 'seeching those that are better seen in the tongues 'than I, and that have higher gifts of grace to in- 'terpret the sense of the Scripture and meaning of 'the Spirit than I, to consider and ponder my 'labour and that with the spirit of meekness; and 'if they perceive in any places that I have not 'attained the very sense of the tongue or meaning 'of the Scripture, or have not given the right Eng- 'lish word, that they put to their hands to amend 'it, remembering that *so is their duty to do.* For 'we have not received the gifts of God for our- 'selves only or for to hide them; but for to bestow 'them unto the honouring of God and Christ and 'edifying of the congregation which is the Body of 'Christ.' TYNDALE.

'It remaineth that we commend thee [gentle 'reader] to God and to the Spirit of His Grace, 'which is able to build further than we can ask or *Preface to Authorised Version.*

'think. He removeth the scales from our eyes, 'the vail from our hearts, opening our wits that 'we may understand His word, enlarging our 'hearts, yea correcting our affections, that we 'may love it above gold and silver, yea that we 'may love it to the end. Ye are brought unto 'fountains of living water which ye digged not; 'do not cast earth into them with the Philistines, 'neither prefer broken pits before them with the 'wicked Jews. Others have laboured, and you 'may enter into their labours. O receive not so 'great things in vain: O despise not so great sal-'vation.....It is a fearful thing to fall into the 'hands of the living God; but a blessed thing it is 'and will bring us to everlasting blessedness in 'the end, when God speaketh unto us, to hearken; 'when He setteth His word before us, to read it; 'when He stretcheth out His hand and calleth, to 'answer, Here am I, here we are to do Thy will, 'O God. The Lord work a care and conscience in 'us to know Him and serve Him, that we may be 'acknowledged of Him at the appearing of our 'Lord JESUS CHRIST, to whom with the Holy 'Ghost, be all praise and thanksgiving. Amen.'

APPENDICES.

I. Specimens of the earlier and later Wycliffite Versions.

II. Chronological list of Editions of Bibles and of parts of the Bible of critical importance in the History of the Authorised Version.

III. Collation of 1 John in the three texts of Tyndale.

IV. An Examination of the sources of Coverdale's Notes.

V. Specimens of the notes of Tyndale and Matthew.

VI. Specimens of the Latin-English Testaments of Coverdale.

VII. Passages from the Pentateuch and Historical Books in Tyndale, Coverdale, &c.

VIII. On Mr Froude's History of the English Bible.

APPENDIX I.

Specimens of the earlier and later Wycliffite Versions.

	WYCLIFFE.	VULGATE.	PURVEY.	
	Lord oure Lord ; hou myche meruei-lous is thi name in al the erthe	Domine Dominus noster, quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra!	Lord *thou art* oure Lord ; thi name is ful wonderful in al erthe	*Ps. viii.* 1
	For rerid vp is thi grete doing ouer heuenes.	Quoniam elevata est magnificentia tua super cælos.	For thi greet doyng is reised aboue heuenes	
	Of the mouth of vnspekende childer and soukende thou performedist preising, for thin enemys ; that thou destroȝe the enemy and the veniere	Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos, ut destruas inimicum et ultorem.	Of the mouth of ȝonge children, not spekynge and soukynge mylk, thou madist perfitli heryng for thin enemyes ; that thou destrie the enemy and avengere	2
	For I shal see thin heuenes, the	Quoniam videbo cælos tuos, opera	For Y schal se thin heuenes, the	3

App. I.	Wycliffe.	Vulgate.	Purvey.
	werkis of thi fingris; the mone and the sterris, that thou hast foundid.	digitorum tuorum: lunam et stellas, quæ tu fundasti.	werkis of thi fyngris; the moone and sterris whiche thou hast foundid.
4	What is a man, that myndeful thou art of hym; or the son of man, for thou visitist hym?	Quid est homo, quod memor es ejus? aut filius hominis, quoniam visitas eum?	What is a man that thou art myndeful of hym; ethir the sone of a virgyn, for thou visitist hym?
5	Thou lassedest hym a litil lasse fro aungelis; with glorie and worshipe thou crounedest hym, and settist hym ouer the werkis of thin hondys.	Minuisti eum paulo minus aб angelis, gloria et honore coronasti eum: et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum.	Thou hast maad hym a litil lesse than aungels; thou hast corouned hym with glorie and onour, and hast ordeyned hym aboue the werkis of thin hondis.
6	Alle thingus thou leidist vnder his feet,	Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus,	Thou hast maad suget alle thingis vndur hise feet;
7	Shep and oxen alle; ferthermor and the bestis of the feeld;	oves et boves universaś: insuper et pecora campi;	alle scheep and oxis, ferthermore and the beestis of the feeld;
8	the foulis of heuene, and the fishis of the se; that thurȝ gon the sties of the se.	volucres cæli, et pisces maris, qui perambulant semitas maris.	the briddis of the eir, and the fischis of the see; that passen bi the pathis of the see.
9	Lord, oure Lord; hou myche meruei-lous is thi name in al erthe.	Domine Dominus noster, quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra!	Lord, *thou art* oure Lord; thi name is wondurful in al erthe.
Eph. iv. 8	For which thing he seith He styȝinge into hiȝ, ledde cai-	Propter quod dicit: Ascendens in altum captivam	For which thing he seith He stiyinge an hiȝ, ledde

WYCLIFFE.	VULGATE.	PURVEY.	APP. I.
tifte caytif, *or prysonynge prisoned*, he 3af 3iftis to men	duxit captivitatem: dedit dona hominibus.	caitifte caitif, he 3af 3iftis to men	
Forsoth that he assendide what is it, no but for he dessendide first into the lowere partis of the erthe?	Quod autem ascendit, quid est, nisi quia et descendit primum in inferiores partes terræ?	But what is it that he stiede vp, no but that also he cam doun first in to the lowere partis of the erthe?	9
He it is that cam down and that sti3ede vp on alle heuenes that he schulde fulfille alle thingis	Qui descendit, ipse est et qui ascendit super omnes cælos, ut impleret omnia.	He it is that cam doun and that stiede on alle heuenes that he schulde fille alle thingis.	10
And he 3af summe sotheli apostlis, summe forsoth prophetis, othere forsothe euangelistis, other forsoth schepherdis and techeris	Et ipse dedit quosdam quidem apostolos, quosdam autem prophetas, alios vero evangelistas, alios autem pastores et doctores,	And he 3af summe apostlis, summe prophetis, othere euangelistis, othere scheepherdis, and techeris,	11
to the ful endynge of seyntis into the work of mynisterie, into edificacioun of Cristis body,	ad consummationem sanctorum in opus ministerii, in ædificationem corporis Christi:	to the ful endyng of seyntis in to the werke of mynystrie, in to edificacioun of Cristis bodi	12
til we rennen alle in vnyte of feith and of knowynge of Goddis sone, unto a parfyt man, into the mesure of age of the plente of Crist;	donec occurramus omnes in unitatem fidei, et agnitionis Filii Dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram ætatis plenitudinis Christi:	til we rennen alle in to vnyte of feith and of knowyng of Goddis sone, in to a parfit man, aftir the mesure of age of the plente of Crist;	13
that we ben not now litile children,	ut jam non simus parvuli fluctuantes,	that we be not now litle children,	14

App. I.

Wycliffe.	Vulgate.	Purvey.
mouynge as wawis, and be borun aboute with al wynd of techinge, in the weywardnesse of men, in sutil witt, to the disceyuynge of errour.	et circumferamur omni vento doctrinæ in nequitia hominum, in astutia ad circumventionem erroris.	mouynge as wawis, and be not borun aboute with ech wynd of teching, in the weiwardnesse of men, in sutil wit, to the disseyuyng of errour.

APPENDIX II.

Chronological list of Editions of Bibles and of parts of the Bible of critical importance in the History of the Authorised Version.

In the following list I have only included those editions which have a direct literary bearing on the history of the Authorised Version. It has no bibliographical object whatever. In foreign versions it has generally seemed sufficient to mark the *first* edition of each work. In the case of rare books I have indicated the copies which I have been allowed to use. The principal sources of the several English versions are added in brackets.

Foreign Translations.

1516 Erasmus' first Edition of the Greek Testament with a new Latin Translation.

1520 The Complutensian Polyglott Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek and Latin texts.

1522 ERASMUS' THIRD EDITION.

—— LUTHER'S GERMAN NEW TESTAMENT.

App. II.

Foreign Translations.	*English Translations.*
1523 Luther's Pentateuch.	
1524 Luther's Historical and Poetical Works of the Old Testament.	
—— Zurich version of the Prophets.	
	1525 Tyndale's New Testament in two shapes. [Erasmus' third edition, Luther].
1527-29. Zurich version finished.	
1528 Sanctes Pagninus' Latin Version of the Bible.	
	1530 Tyndale's Pentateuch.
1532 Luther's Version finished.	
1534 Luther's Bible published.	1534 Tyndale's New Testament revised[1]. [First edition, Luther, Complutensian readings, Erasmus].
1534-5 Seb. Münster's Latin Version of the Old Testament.	—— Tyndale's Pentateuch revised.
1535 Olivetan's French Version.	1535 Tyndale's New Testament again revised[2].

[1] The newe Testament dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke by Willyam Tindale and fynesshed in the yere of oure Lorde God A. M. D. & xxxiiii in the moneth of Nouember.

Imprint:

The newe Testament. Imprinted at Anwerp by Marten Emperowr. Anno M.D.xxxiiij.

[Univ. Libr. & Trin. Coll. Cambridge. Brit. Mus.]

[2] The Newe Testament, dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke by Willyam Tindale: and fynesshed in the yere of oure Lorde God A. M. D. and xxxv.

No imprint.

[Univ. Libr. Cambridge.]

English Translations. APP. II.

1535 Coverdale's Bible[1].
[Vulgate, Luther, Zurich, Pagninus, Tyndale].

1536 Coverdale's Bible, second edition[2].

1537 Matthew's Bible[3].
[Tyndale, Coverdale].

1538 Coverdale's Latin-English Testaments.

1539 April. First Edition of the Great Bible[4].

[1] The following are the title-pages of the different issues of the first edition of Coverdale's Bible.

(α) Biblia The Bible, that is, the Holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe. M.D.XXXV.

Imprint:

Prynted in the yeare of our Lorde M.D.XXXV. and fynished the fourth daye of October.

[Earl of Leicester. British Museum (not quite perfect).]

(β) Biblia The Bible: that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament faithfully translated in to Englyshe. M.D.XXXV.

[Earl of Northampton.]

(γ) Biblia The Byble: that is, the holy Scrypture of the Olde and New Testament, fayth-fully translated in to Englyshe. M.D.XXXVI.

[Earl of Jersey. Gloucester Cathedral Library.]

[2] Biblia The Byble, that is the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faythfully translated in Englysh, and newly oversene and corrected. M.D. XXXVII.

Imprynted in Southwarke for James Nycolson.

[Bristol Baptist College. British Museum (imperfect).]

[3] The Byble, which is all the holy Scripture: In which are contayned the Olde and Newe Testament truely and purely translated into English by Thomas Matthew... M,D,XXXVII. ... Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous licece.

Imprint:

To the honoure and prayse of God was this Byble prynted and fynesshed, in the yere of oure Lorde God a, M,D,XXXVII.

[4] The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the content of all the holy Scripture, both of y^e^ olde and newe testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke Textes, by y^e^ dylygent studye of dyverse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges .. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. 1539... Fynisshed in Apryll, An-

App. II.

Foreign Translations.

English Translations.

[Matthew, Münster, Erasmus, Complutensian Polyglott].

1539 Taverner's Bible[1].

[Matthew's, Vulgate, Greek text].

1540 April. Second Edition of the Great Bible[2].

[First Edition, Münster, Erasmus, Complut. Pol.].

—— Nov. Fourth Edition of the Great Bible[3].

[First and second editions].

1543 Leo Juda's Latin Version.

1550 Stephens' third edition of the Greek Testament (ed. regia).

no MCCCCCXXXIX. *A Dno factu est istud.*

[British Museum. Baptist College, Bristol.]

[1] The most sacred Bible, whiche is the holy scripture, conteyning the old and new testament, translated in to English, and newly recognised with great diligence after most faythful exemplars, by Richard Taverner. Prynted at London ... by John Byddell, for Thomas Barthlet. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. M.D.XXXIX.

[2] The Byble in Englyshe... testament, with a prologe thereinto, made by the reverende father in God, Thomas archbysshop of Cantorbury. This is the Byble apoynted to the use of the churches.... Cum privilegio.... M.D.XL... Fynisshed in Apryll anno M CCCCC XL. *A Dno factu est istud.*

[British Museum. Baptist College, Bristol.]

[3] The Byble in Englyshe of the largest and greatest volume, auctorysed and apoynted by the commaundemente of oure moost redoubted Prynce and Soueraygne Lorde Kynge Henrye the .viii. supreme heade of this his Churche and Realme of Englande: to be frequented and used in every churche win this his sayd realme accordynge to the tenour of his former Iniunctions geven in that behalfe. Oversene and perused at the comaundemet of the kynges

Foreign Translations.	*English Translations.*	App. II.
1551 Castalio's Latin Version.		
1556 Beza's Latin Version of the New Testament.		
	1557 Genevan Testament[1]. [Tyndale, Beza].	
1558 Revised edition of the Bible of Olivetan.		
	1560 Genevan Bible[2]. [Original texts, Great Bible, Leo Juda, Beza, French Version].	
	1568 The Bishops' Bible[3]. [Great Bible, Genevan, Original texts, Castalio].	
1572 Arias Montanus' Interlinear translation of the Hebrew text with Pagninus' version.	1572 The Bishops' Bible, second edition. [First edition, Greek Testament].	
	1576 Tomson's revised Genevan Testament. [Genevan Bible, Beza, Greek text].	
1579 Tremellius' Latin version of the Old Testament, and version		

hyghnes, by the ryghte reverende fathers in God Cuthbert bysshop of Duresme and Nicolas bisshop of Rochester... Cum privilegio... 1541. Fynyshed in November anno M CCCCC XL. *A Dño factu est istud.*

[British Museum.]

[1] The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ....Printed by Conrad Badius M.D.LVII this X of June.

[2] The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke and compared with the best translations in diuers languages... at Geneva... MDLX.

[3] The Holie Bible.

App. II.

Foreign Translations.	*English Translations.*
of the Syriac New Testament.	
1579 JUNIUS' Latin Version of the Apocrypha.	
1582 Beza's third edition of the Greek Testament.	1582 Rhemish New Testament[1]. [Genevan, Vulgate].
1588 FRENCH BIBLE revised by the Pastors at Geneva.	
1602 Cypr. de Valera's Spanish Version.	
1607 J. Diodati's Italian Version.	
	1609-10 Douai Old Testament[2]. [Genevan, Vulgate].
	1611 Authorised Version. [Original texts, Bishops' Bible, Genevan, Rhemish, Tremellius, Beza and earlier Latin Versions].

[1] The New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated faithfully into English, out of the authentical Latin....1582. Cum privilegio.

[2] The Holie Bible Faithfully Translated into English out of the authenticall Latin...Tom. I. MDCIX. Tom. II. MDCX.

APPENDIX III.

Collation of 1 *John in the first, second, and third editions of Tyndale's New Testament.*

The reading of the second edition of Tyndale (T_2, 1534) is given first: that for which it is substituted is the reading of the first edition (T_1, 1525). Where the reading of the third edition (T_3, 1535) is not specified it agrees with T_2. When the reading of T_3 alone is given T_1 and T_2 agree against it.

i. 1 om. '*declare we unto you*' after 'beginning' (1)
T_2 om. '*concerning*' before '*which*' (33). So Matthew.
4 '*our* joy' for '*your* joy' (2)
7 '*Jesus* Christ' for 'Christ' (3)
8 'if we say' for 'if we *shall* say' (4)

ii. 1 'sin not' for '*should* not sin' (5)
— 'if—yet' for '*and* if—yet' (6)
2 T_2 '*your* sins' for '*our* sins' (34). Not Matthew.
3 'we *are sure*' for 'we *know*' (7)
— '*know* him' for '*have known* him' (8)
5 '*thereby*' for '*therein*' (9)
9 'the light' for 'the *true* light' (10)

App. III.

11 T_3 '*the* darkness' for '*that* darkness' (35). So Matthew.

13 T_3 'ye *know*' twice for 'ye *have known*' and so v. 14 (36). So Matthew.

17 T_3 'abideth *ever*' for 'abideth *for ever*' (37) So Matthew.

21 T_3 '*know* not' for '*knew* not' (Matthew) (38)

22 '*the same* is *the* Antichrist' for '*he* is Antichrist' (11)

iii. 1 '*knoweth not* him' for '*hath not known* him' (12)

— T_3 'on *to* us' for '*on* us' (Matthew) (39)

2 '*doth* not *appear*' for '*hath* not *appeared*' (13)

4 '*for* sin is' for '*and* sin is' (14)

11 'that *we* should' for 'that *ye* should' which is also in T_3 (15)

15 T_3 '*hate*' for '*hateth*' (Matthew) (40)

16 'and *therefore*' for 'and' (16)

— 'ought we' for 'we ought' (17)

17 '*have need*' for '*in necessity*' (18)

18 T_3 'with *the* deed' for 'with deed' (41). So Matthew.

19 '*for thereby*' for '*and hereby*' (19)

— '*can* before him *quiet* our hearts' for '*will* before him *put* our hearts *out of doubt*' (20)

20 '*But*' for '*for*' (21)

21 'Beloved' for '*tenderly* beloved': comp. iv. 1, 7, 11 (22)

24 '*thereby*' for '*hereby*' (23)

iv. 1 '*Ye* beloved' for '*Dearly* beloved' (24)

— T_3 'or *not*' for 'or *no*' (42). So Matthew.

3 T_3 '*that* confesseth' for '*which* confesseth' (43). So Matthew.

5 '*and* therefore' for 'therefore' (25)

5 T_3 '*that* world' for '*the* world' (Matthew) (44)
7 'Beloved' for '*Dearly* beloved' so iv. 11 (26)
8 '*knoweth* not' for '*hath* not *known*' (27)
20 '*hate*' for '*hateth*' (28)
— '*for* how' for 'how' (29)

v. 1 [T_3 'that Jesus Christ' for 'Jesus *is* Christ' (Matthew)] (45)
7 'for there'...'are one.' In smaller type and in brackets. In T_3 the words are in ( ). In the first edition no difference is marked (30)
8 '*For*' for '*And*' (31)
15 '*desire*' for '*desired*' (32)

In this list 1, 4, 5, 10, 11, 18, 22, 24, 26, 29 are closer renderings of the Greek text.

On the other hand 6, 9, 14, 16, 19, 21, 22, 25, 31 are instances of the abandonment of the more literal renderings in order (as it seems) to bring out the argument with greater distinctness.

The aorist which was first rendered by a perfect form is rendered by an indefinite present in 8, 12, 13, 27: a mode of rendering adopted for the perfect in 32. The first change in 7 seems to be a consequence of the second to avoid repetition.

An error of grammar is corrected in 28, and an improvement of rhythm is introduced in 17.

Two false readings are corrected in 3, 15; and a new reading adopted in 2. The spurious passage in v. 7 is marked (30).

The changes are more frequently away from Luther than to Luther; but it is impossible not to think that Luther suggested the longest change of rendering (20), for which he has 'dass wir—*können* unser Herz vor ihm *stillen*.'

App. III.

Of the renderings first introduced in 1535 three are improved translations (33, 35, 38): two are worse renderings for emphasis (41, 44): one is a false reading (34): one is a substitution (as before) of an indefinite present for a perfect (36): two appear to be indifferent (42, 43): four are probably misprints (37, 39, 40, 45).

In the Epistle to the Ephesians the changes generally are of the same character. Two of these very worthy of notice have influenced our present text, of which one is the singularly beautiful '*making melody* in your hearts' (v. 19) for '*playing*': and the other the strange substitution of 'which before *believed* in Christ' (i. 12) for 'before *hoped* in Christ' which is altered into 'trusted' in A. V.

APPENDIX IV.

An Examination of the sources of the Notes in Coverdale's Bible of 1535.

ii. 12[1] Some call it *Schoham.* So Zurich (1)

18 to *bear him company*
Some read: to *stand next by him*
Luther: *die um ihn sei*
Zurich: *der jm zu nächst beystande*
Pagninus: quod sit coram eo
Tyndale: to *bear him company*
Vulgate: simile sibi (2)

iii. 6 A pleasant tree *to make wise*
Some read: *while it made wise*
L. *weil er klug machte*
Z. dieweil er k. m.
P. concupiscibilis arbor ad intelligendum
T. a pleasant tree for *to make wise*
V. aspectu delectabile (3)

[1] In some cases I have given only the Versions from which Coverdale's renderings are derived: in others I have thought it worth while to add parallel renderings for comparison and contrast. Simply explanatory notes are neglected, as 2 Sam. xvi. 22; 1 K. ii. 7 are neglected; and one or two others, but the list of various renderings is nearly complete.

App. IV. iii. 16 *thy lust shall pertain unto* thy husband
Some read: *Thou shalt bow down thyself before* thy husband
L. dein wille soll deinem manne unterworfen sein
Z. *zu deinem mann deine gelust* oder begierd
P. ad virum tuum erit desiderium tuum
T. *thy lusts shall pertain unto* thy husband
V. sub viri potestate eris (4)

iv. 7 *shall he then be* subdued unto thee? *and wilt thou rule him?*
Some read: *Let it be* subdued unto thee and *rule thou it*
L. Lass du ihr nicht ihren willen, sondern *herrsche über sie*
Z. *Stadt dann sein aufsehen zu dir vnd wilt über jn herrschen?*
P. in te erit appetitus ejus et dominaberis ei
T. *Let it be* subdued unto thee and see thou *rule it*
V. sub te erit appetitus ejus et dominaberis illius (5)

viii. 7 came again
Some read: came *not* again
so Vulgate (6)

xi. 2 *toward* the East (L)
Some read: *from* the East
so Vulgate (7)

xvii. 2 I am the *Almighty* God (L. P. V.)
Some read: I am the God *Schadai* (*that is plenteous in power, abundant, sufficient and full of all good*)
so Z. (*das ist ein vollmächtiger, vnnd ein überflüssige genugsamme vnnd volly alles gutenn*) (8)

xviii. 10 about this time twelvemonth, *if I live*,...
Some read: *as soon as the fruit can live*
L. *so ich lebe*
Z. as Luther
P. revertar ad te secundum tempus vitæ
T. *as soon as the fruit can live*
V. Revertens veniam ad te tempore isto, vita comite (9)

xxiii. 4 bury my corpse *by me*
Some read: my corpse *that lieth before me*
L. *der vor mir liegt*
Z. *mein leych bey mir* (10)

xxiv. 31 thou *blessed* of the Lord (L. P. V.)
Some read: *beloved*
Z. *du geliebter* (11)

xxvii. 25 that my *soul may bless thee* (L. V.)
that my *heart may wish thee good*
Z. das *ich von hertzen dir guts wünsche* (12)

xxviii. 1 *blessed* (L. P. V.)
Some read *talked lovingly with*
Z. *redt freüntlich mit jm* (13)

xxxiii. 19 *an hundred pence* (So L., Z. *um hundert groschen*)
Some read: *an hundred lambs* (So V. P.) (14)

xli. 44 called him *Zaphnath Paena*
that is *An expounder of secret things*, or *A man to whom secret things are opened*
L. *den heimlichen Rath*
Z. Zaphnath Paena (15)
P. *vir cui abscondita revelata sunt*, vel *absconditorum expositor*
V. *Salvatorem mundi*

App. IV. *Ex.*

ix. 16 have I *stirred thee up.* (So L. *habe ich dich erweckt*)
Some read: I have *holden* thee up
Z. *hab ich dich aufrecht behalten* (16)
P. *Stare feci te*
V. *posui te*

xvi. 15 *This is man* (So L. Z. *Das ist man* P.)
Some read: *What is this?* (So V.) (17)

xvii. 15 the Lord Nissi (L.)
that is: the Lord is he that raiseth me up
P. dominus elevatio mea (18)

xxix. 28 in their *dead offerings*
Some call *the peace offerings*
L. *an ihren dankopfern*
Z. au jren *todopffern* (19)
P. De sacrificiis *pacificorum suorum*
V. *de victimis eorum pacificis*

Josh. iii. 15 full of all manner of waters of the *land*
Some read: *of the harvest*
Z. voll an allen seinen gstaden *von allerley gewässer der erden* (20)
P. *omnibus diebus messis*
V. *tempore messis* (So Luth.)

Ruth iii. 3 *muffle* thee
Some read: *anoint* thee
Z. *verhülle* dich (21)
P. *unge te*

1 *Sam.* xxiii. 28 Sela Mahelkoth (L.)
The rock of *parting asunder*
P. petra *divisionis* (22)

2 *Sam.* viii. 18 *priests* (So V. L. Z.)
Some read: *rulers*
V. P. *principes* (23)

xxv. 5 And *he gave* judgment *upon him* — App. IV.
Some read: And *they talked with him of* judgment — *2 Kings*
L. sie sprachen ein urtheil über ihn
Z. *sy redtend mit jm vom rechten*
P. *locuti sunt cum eo judicium*
Matthew, they reasoned with him (24)

vii. 20 root *you* out — *2 Chron.*
Some read: *them*
L. sie auswurzeln
Z. *sy auszwurtzlen*
P. evellam *eos*
V. evellam vos (25)

ix. 10 so madest thou *thee* a name — *Nehem.*
Some read: *them*
Z. *jnenn* (26)

xiv. 5—7 These three verses are not in the Hebrew (27) *Psalm*

xxxvi. (xxxvii.) 21 *The ungodly borroweth and payeth not again* (So V. L. Z. P.)
Some read thus: *The ungodly lendeth upon usury and not for naught* (28)

xxxix. (xl.) 7 but *a body hast thou ordained me* (Hebr. x. 5)
Some read thus: but *mine ears hast thou opened* (So L. Z.)
P. *aures fodisti mihi* (29)
V. *aures autem perfecisti mihi*

vii. 7 *a mason's trowel* — *Amos*
Some call it *a line*
ein *maurerkellen*
P. *perpendiculum* (30)

App. IV. *Malachi*

ii. 14 So did not the one
This the interpreters reckon to be spoken of Abraham
L. Also that der einige nicht
Z. er hat nit allein einen menschen gemachet
P. nec unus quidem *Abraham* fecit ut facitis (31)

4 *Esdr.* iv. 52 as touching *the* life
Some read: *my* life
Z. *dein* labenn (32)
V. de vita *tua*

xii. 1 the head
Read: I saw, and behold
Z. do hab ich gesehen (33)

xv. 55 receive *reward*
Some read: *no reward* (34)

Tobit i. 14 having ten talents of *silver* (V.)
Some read: ten talents of *gold*
Z. zahennt Talent *golds* (35)

iiii. 10 delivereth from death
Some read: from *all sin and from death*
P. ab *omni peccato et a* morte (36)

xii. 6 shewed his mercy unto *us* (P. Z.)
Some read: unto *you* (37)

Ecclus. iii. 23 curious in many of *his* works (P.)
Some read: *thy* works
Z. *deiner* wercken (38)

xxxiii. 15 there are ever two against *two* (P.)
Some read: two against *one*
Z. zwey gegen *einen* (39)

2 Macc.

ii. 13 writings of *Jeremy*
Some read: *Nehemias*
Z. *Jeremie*
P. *Nehemiah*

xii. 43 *two* thousand drachmas (40)
Some read: *twelve* thousand
Z. zweytausent (41)
P. *duodecim* milia

Matt.

i. 8 before they *came together*
Some read: before they *sat at home together*
L. ehe er sie heimholete
Z. *ee sy miteinanderen zu hausz sassend* (42)
Erasmus: priusquam congressi fuissent
Tyndale (ed. 2): came *to dwell* together

xi. 11 *less* (T_2)
Some read: *least*
L. der *kleinste* (43)

xvi. 13 that *the* son of man *is*
Some read: that *I the* son of man *am* (T_2)
L. *dasz des Menschen Sohn sey* (44)

xx. 25 *exercise power* (T_2)
Some read: *deal with violence*
L. *haben gewalt* (45)

xxiii. 25 *excess* (T_2)
Some read: *uncleanness*
L. Fraszes
Z. *unreyns* (46)
P. injustitia
E. intemperantia

xxvi. 7 a box with precious *ointment*
Some read: a *glass with precious water*
L. *ein glas mit köstlichem Wasser* (47)
T_2 an *alabaster* box of p. o.

App. IV. *Mark* i. 11 in whom I *delight* (T_2)
Some read: in whom I *am well pacified*
L. *an dem ich Wohlgefallen habe* (48)

iii. 21 he *taketh too much upon him*
Some read: he *will go out of his wit*
L. *er wird von Sinnen kommen*
Z. *Er thut jm zu vil* (49)
P. in stuporem versus est
E. in furorem v. est
T_2 he had been beside himself

xiii. 9 *councils* (T_2)
Some read: *council-houses*
L. *Rathäuser* (50)

Acts ix. 40 she sat *her down again*
Some read: she sat *up* (T_2)
L. *setzte sie sich wieder* (51)

xv. 3 *conversation*
Some read: *conversion* (T_2)
L. *Wandel* (52)

xvii. 18 (new) *gods*
Some read: *devils* (T_2)
L. *Götter* (53)

Rom. iii. 28 by faith (T_2)
Some read: by faith *only*
L. *allein durch den glauben* (54)

x. 17 by *hearing* (T_2)
Some read: by *preaching*
L. aus der *Predigt* (55)

Thus of the whole number (55) of alternative renderings only five (4, 28, 32, 34, 37) cannot be referred directly to their source; and of the corresponding

readings adopted in the text only two (24, 32). Of these one alternative reading (28) is very remarkable and may have come from the Zurich glosses which I have been unable to see. Of the other alternative readings ten (3, 5, 10, 43, 47—50, 54, 55) agree with Luther: sixteen (1, 2, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 24—6, 33, 35, 38—9, 42, 46) with the Zurich version: ten with Pagninus (18, 15, 21—3, 30—1, 36, 40—1): six with the Vulgate (6, 7, 14, 18—20); and six with Tyndale (9, 44—5, 51—3). Of these the most remarkable coincidences with Luther are 3, 10, 47, 54, 55, with the Zurich Version, 8, 42, with Pagninus 16, 31, with Tyndale 9, 52, 53. Of the readings adopted the most singular are 17 (Luther) and 10, 19, 20 (Zurich).

Nothing could sum up the internal history of Coverdale's Bible more accurately than this analysis.

APPENDIX V.

Specimens of Notes from Tyndale and Matthew.

App. V.

Matt. i. 18. Tyndale, 1525. Jesus is as much to say as a Saver (sic); for he only saveth all men from their sins by his merits, without their deserving.

Tyndale, 1534. *None.*

Matthew. Messiah: it signifieth anointed. Jesus Christ then is the earnest and pledge of God's promise, by whom the grace and favour of God is promised to us with the Holy Ghost, which illumineth, lighteth, reneweth our hearts to fulfil the law.

v. 1. Tyndale, 1525. Of Matthew they are called Magi, and in certain countries in the East philosophers, cunning in natural causes and effects, and also the priests were so called.

Tyndale, 1534. *None.*

Matthew. These were neither kings nor princes, but, as Strabo saith (which was in their time) sage men among the Persians as Moses was among the Hebrews: he saith also that they were the priests of the Persians.

Tyndale, 1525. Put your trust in God's words (sic) only and not in Abraham. Let saints be an ensample unto you, and not your trust and confidence; for then ye make Christ of them. App. V. *iii.* 9.

Tyndale, 1534. *None.*

Matthew. *None.*

Tyndale, 1525. Trouble is the daily labour. He will it be enough that we labour daily without further care. *vi.* 34.

Tyndale, 1534. *None.*

Matthew. It is commanded us in the sweat of our face to win our bread: that travail must we daily, diligently, and earnestly do, but not be careful what profit shall come unto us thereof, for that were to care for tomorrow. We must therefore commit that to God, which is ready to prosper our labours with His blessing, and that abundantly, so that most shall we profit when we are least careful.

Tyndale, 1525. Compare deed to deed, so is one greater than another; but compare them to God, so are they all like, and one as good as another; even as the spirit moveth a man, and time and occasion giveth. *x.* 42.

Tyndale, 1534. Covenants.

Matthew. None.

Tyndale, 1525. Traditions of men must fail at the last. God's word bideth ever. *xv.* 9—13.

Tyndale, 1534. Men's precepts. What defileth a man. Plants. Blind leaders. With what a man is defiled.

Matthew v. 13. Origen and Chrysostom understand this of the Pharisees because of their evil opinions. Hilarius and Erasmus understand it of men's traditions.

App. V.

xvii. 21. Tyndale, 1525. Strong faith requireth fervent prayer; and prayer requireth fasting to subdue the body, that lusts unquïet not a man's mind.

Tyndale, 1534. Prayer and fasting.

Matthew. *None.*

xx. 8—12. Tyndale, 1525. By this similitude may ye perceive that no similitude serveth throughout; but some one thing contained in the similitude; as this long parable pertaineth but hereunto, that work-holy shall despise weak sinners, which same work-holy shall not there have their reward, as these which come first have here; but shall be reject and put away, because they challenge it of merit and not of mercy and grace.

Tyndale, 1534. v. 5. The Jews reckon one when the sun is up an hour.

Matthew. *None.*

APPENDIX VI.

Specimens of the Latin-English Testaments of Coverdale.

(COVERDALE'S BIBLE.)

1 John i.

1 That which was from the beginning, *which* we have heard, *which* we have seen with our *eyes*, *which* we have *looked upon*, and our hands have handled *of* the word of life; 2 and the life *hath appeared*, and we have seen and *bear witness* and shew unto you the life *that is everlasting*, which was *with* the Father and *hath appeared* unto us. 3 *That* which we have seen and *heard declare we* unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us, and that our fellowship *may be* with the father and with his Son Jesus Christ. 4 And *this write we* unto you that *your* joy may be full. 5 And this is the tidings *which* we have heard of him and *declare* unto you that God is light and *in him is no darkness at all.* 6 If we say that we have fellowship with him and *yet walk* in darkness, we lie and do not the truth. 7 But if we walk in light *even as he* is in light, *then have we* fellowship together, and the blood of *Jesus Christ his Son* cleanseth us from all sin. 8 If we *say* that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us; 9 *but if* we know-

App. VI.

ledge our sins, he is faithful and *just to* forgive us our sins and *to cleanse* us from all *unrighteousnes*. 10 If we say *we* have not sinned, we make him a liar and His word is not in us.

v. 1 *that* which (3) Nycolson. Hollybushe
eyen N.
bsholden N. H.
concerning Regnault. *of* N. H. (*de* Vulgate).

2 *is manifest* N. H.
testify N. R. H.
everlasting N. R. (vitam æternam V.)
by N. H.
appeared N. H.

3 *Even* that R. (Quod vidimus V.)
have heard N. H.
do we shew N. H.
be N. H.

4 *these things* N. R. (*hæc* V.)
do I write N.
ye may rejoice and (*that* R.) *your* N. (R.) (ut gaudeatis et gaudium vestrum V.)

5 that N. H.
do shew N. H.
there is no darkness in him N. H.

6 walk N. R.

7 *as he also* N. R. (*sicut et ipse* V.)
we have N. H.
his son Jesus Christ N. H.

8 *do say* N. H.

9 *if* N. R.
righteous that he do N. H.
cleanse N. H.
wickedness N. H.

10 *do say* N. H.
that we N. R. (*quoniam* V.)

16 *If any man see* his brother *sin* a sin not unto death, let him ask and *he shall give him life for them* that *sin* not unto death. There is a sin unto death, *for the which say I not* that *a* man should pray. 17 *All unrighteousness* is sin, and there is *sin not* unto death. 18 We know that *whosoever* is born of God *sinneth not*, but *he that is begotten* of God keepeth *himself* and *that* wicked toucheth him not. 19 We know that we are of God and the *world* is set *altogether* on *wickedness*. 20 *But* we know that the Son of God is come and hath given us *a mind to* know *him which is true*, and *we are in him that is true, in his Son Jesu Christ. This* is the true God and everlasting life. 21 *Babes* keep *yourselves* from images. *Amen.* *1 John v. 16—end.*

16 *He that knoweth* N. R. H.
to sin N. R.
life shall be given unto him that sinneth (*sinning* N. H.) (N.) R. (H.)
I say not that *any* man should (*do* N.) pray *for that* (N.) R. H.

17 *every wickedness* N. H.
a sin N. R. H. omit *not* N. R. H.

18 *every one that* N. H.
doth not sin N. R. H.
the generation N. R. H.
him N. R. H.
the N. R. H.

App. VI.

19 the *whole* world is set on (*in* N.) mischief (N.) R. H.

20 *and* N. R. H.
understanding that we may N. R. H.
the true God N. R. H.
be (*we are* N. H.) *in his true son* (N.) R. (H.)
The (this N. H.) *same* (N. R. H.)

21 *Little children* N. H.
you N. R. H.
om. *Amen* N. R. H.

APPENDIX VII.

Collation of Passages from the Pentateuch and Historical Books in Tyndale, Coverdale, Matthew, the Great Bible, the Bishops' Bible, and the Genevan Bible.

ZURICH VERSION. Ich wil dem Herren Singē, dan er hat herrlich gehandlet, rossz vnnd wagen hat er gestürtzt ins Meer.

Derr Herr ist mein stercke vn̄ lobgesang, vnd ist mein helffer worden.

Das ist mein Gott, ich will jn beherbergen. Er ist meines vatters Gott, ich will jn erheben[1].

COVERDALE. *I will* sing unto the Lord, for he *hath done gloriously:* horse and *chariot* hath he overthrown in the sea.

The Lord is my strength and my song, and is become my salvation.

This is my God: I will *magnify* Him. He is my father's God: I will *exalt Him.*

Ex. xv. 1, 2.

[1] Luther's Version with the Latin Version of the Wittenberg Bible may be added for comparison:

Ich will dem Herrn singen; denn er hat eine herrliche That gethan, Ross und Wagen hat er ins Meer gestürtzet.

Der Herr ist meine Stärke und Lobgesang, und ist mein Heil, Das ist mein Gott, ich will ihn preisen; er ist meines Vaters Gott, ich will ihn erheben.

In the Wittenberg Bible the passage runs:

Cantemus Domino, gloriose enim *egit*, equum et ascensorem dejicit in mare.

Fortitudo mea et *carmen meum* Dominus, *qui* factus est mihi in salutem.

Iste *est* Deus meus et *ornabo* eum, Deus patris mei et exaltabo eum.

This is nearer to the Vulgate than to Luther, and differs from it only in the italicized words.

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Tyndale (1534). *Let us* sing unto the Lord, for he *is become glorious, the* horse and *him that rode upon him* hath he overthrown in the sea.

The Lord is my strength and my song and is become my salvation.

He is my God *and* I will *glorify* him He is my fathers God *and* I will *lift him up on high*[1].

Matthew agrees verbally with Tyndale.

Taverner agrees verbally with Tyndale.

Great Bible (1539, 1540, 1541). I will...hath *triumphed* gloriously: the horse and him that rode upon him ...my strength and *praise* and *he* is... He is... glorify him: my Fathers God, and I will exalt him.

[Munster. ...*triumphando* magnifice egit...Fortitudo mea et *laus* Dominus. *factusque est*... Iste Deus meus et *decorabo* eum: Deus patris mei et exaltabo eum.]

Geneva. I will...hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and him that rode upon him.

The Lord *is* (ital.) praise and he is...He is...*prepare him a tabernacle:* he is (ital.)...exalt him.

Bishops' agrees verbally with Great Bible.

Num. xvi. 28—30.

Coverdale. And Moses said Hereby *shall ye* know that the Lord hath sent me to do all these works and that I have not done them of mine own *heart*. If these men die the common death of all men, or be visited *as all men are visited*, then *hath not the* Lord sent me. But if the Lord make a new

Luther. Und Mose sprach: Dabei sollt ihr merken, dass mich der Herr gesandt hat, dass ich alle diese Werke that, und nicht aus meinem Herzen. Werden sie sterben wie alle Menschen sterben, oder heimgesucht, wie alle Menschen heimgesucht werden, so hat mich der Herr nicht gesandt. Wird

[1] The italics mark variations between Tyndale and Coverdale.

thing and the earth open her mouth and swallow them *with* all *that they have* so that they go down quick into hell, then *shall ye know* that these men have *blasphemed* the LORD.

aber der Herr etwas Neues schaffen, dass die Erde ihren Mund aufthut und verschlinget sie mit allem das sie haben, dass sie lebendig hinunter in die Hölle fahren, so werdet ihr erkrennen dass diese Leute den Herrn gelästert haben[1]. APP. VII.

TYNDALE. And Moses said: Hereby *ye shall* know that the Lord hath sent me to do all these works and that I have not done them of mine own *mind*. If these men die the common death of all men, or *if they* be visited *after the visitation of all men*, then the Lord hath not sent me. But *and* if the Lord make a new thing, and the earth open her mouth and swallow them *and* all that *pertain unto them*, so that they go down quick into hell, then ye shall *understand* that these men have *railed upon* the Lord.

MATTHEW agrees verbally with TYNDALE.

TAVERNER agrees verbally with TYNDALE except in reading 'of mine own *head*': 'but if' (*om.* and).

GREAT BIBLE (1539, 1540, 1541) agrees with Tyndale except: swallow them *up* with all that they have *and* they go... *provoked*.

A note is indicated (in 1539, 1540) by ☞ to 'visited.'

[MÜNSTER. devoraverit eos una cum omnibus quæ habent et descenderint...: *irritarint*...dominum.]

GENEVA. for *I have* (ital.) not *done them* (ital.)... :

[1] The Wittenberg Bible differs from the Vulgate only by rendering universa opera hæc et non ex proprio corde for universa quæ cernitis et non ex proprio ex corde protulerim, and by adding viri isti after blasphemaverint. The Swiss Bible simply differs by dialectic peculiarities.

App. VII. the Lord (*om.* then): but if: swallow...go down quick into *the pit.*

Bishops' agrees with Great Bible except in reading: 'for I have not done them' (Gen.): 'into *the pit*' (Gen.).

Josh. xxiv. 26.

Coverdale. And Josua wrote *this act* in the book of the law of God, and took a great stone and *set* it *up there* under an oak *which was* in the sanctuary of the Lord, and said unto all the people Behold this stone shall be witness *over you*, for it hath heard all the words of the Lord, which he *hath spoken unto* us, *and* shall be a witness *over* you *that ye deny not* your God. So Josua let the people *go* every *one* to his inheritance.

Luther. Und Josua schrieb dies alles ins Gesetzbuch Gottes, und nahm einen grossen Stein und richtete ihn auf daselbst unter einer Eiche, die bei dem Heiligthum des Herrn war, und sprach zum ganzen Volke: Siehe, dieser Stein soll Zeuge sein zwischen uns, denn er hat gehöret alle Rede des Herrn, die er mit uns geredet hat, und soll ein Zeuge über euch sein, dass ihr euren Gott nicht verleugnet. Also liess Josua das Volk einen jeglichen in sein Erbtheil[1].

Josh. xxiv. 26—28.

Matthew. [Tyndale]. And Josua wrote *these words* in the book of the law of God, and took a great stone and *pitched* it *on end in the said place, even* under an oak *that stood* in the sanctuary of the Lord. And *Josua* said unto all the people, Behold this stone shall be *a* witness *unto us*, for it hath heard all the words of the Lord which He *spake with* us. *It* shall be *therefore* a witness *unto* you, *lest ye lie unto* your God. *And* so

[1] The Wittenberg Bible differs from the Vulgate only in reading grandem (pergrandem), audivit (audierit), and locutus est nobis et erit testis (loc. est vobis).

The Swiss Bible has the following significant variations:—...schreyb *disen handel*... die *inn* dern Heyligthumb... zeüg *über euch sein*...

Josua let the people *depart* every *man unto* his inherit- App. VII.
ance.

Taverner agrees verbally with [Tyndale] Matthew except in reading: 'spake with *you*': 'lest that after this time ye will deny and lie unto your God' (Vulg. see below).

Great Bible (1539, 1540, 1541) agrees with Tyndale except by reading (1) 'that *was*' and (2) 'lest *ye deny* * (*and dissemble with*).'

[Münster. (1) quæ *erat* (2) ne forte *abnegare velitis* deum vestrum (*Vulg.* ne forte postea neque velitis et mentiri Domino Deo vestro)].

Geneva agrees with Tyndale except by reading: pitched it *there*: that *was*: a witness *against* you: lest ye deny your God: *Then* Joshua.

Bishops' agrees with Great Bible exactly, only omitting the added clause '*and dissemble with*.'

Coverdale. There were two men in one city, *the one* rich, *the other* poor. The rich *man* had *very many* sheep and oxen, but the poor *man* had nothing save one little *sheep* which he *had* bought and nourished *it, so that* it grew up with him and his children *together*. *It* eat of his *bread* and drank of his cup and slept in his *lap*, and *he held it* as *a* daughter. *But when* there came a stranger unto the rich man he *spared* to take of his own sheep *and* oxen (to *prepare ought* for the stranger that

Luther. Es waren zwei Männer in einer Stadt, einer reich der andere arm. Der Reiche hatte sehr viele Schafe und Rinder, aber der Arme hatte nichts, denn ein einiges kleines Schäflein, das er gekauft hatte; und er nährte es dass es gross ward bei ihm und bei seinen Kindern zugleich, es ass von seinem Bissen und trank von seinem Becher, und schlief in seinem Schosse, und er hielt es wie eine Tochter. Da aber dem reichen Manne ein Gast kam, schonete er zu nehmen von seinen Schafen und Rindern, 2 *Sam. xii.* 1—5.

App. VII.

was come unto him) *and* took the poor man's *sheep*, and *prepared* it for the man that was come unto him. *Then was* David wroth *with great displeasure against that* man and said unto Nathan As *truly* as the LORD liveth the *man* that hath done this is the child of death.

dass er dem Gaste etwas zurichtete, der zu ihm gekommen war, und nahm das Schaf des armen Mannes und richtete es zu dem Manne der zu ihm gekommen war. Da ergrimmte David mit grossem Zorn wider den Mann und sprach zu Nathan: So wahr der Herr lebet, der Mann ist ein Kind des Todes, der das gethan hat[1].

MATTHEW [TYNDALE]. There were two men in one city, *a* (1) rich and *a* (1) poor. *And* the rich (2) had *exceeding great abundance of* (3) sheep and oxen. But the poor had nothing save one little *lamb* (4) which he bought (5) and nourished *up*. *And* it grew up with him and his children (6) *and did* eat of his *own meat* and drank of his *own* cup, and slept in his *bosom* and *was as dear unto him* as *his* daughter (7). *And* there came a stranger unto the rich man. *And* he *could not find in his heart* to take of his own sheep *nor of his beasts* (3) to *dress* for the stranger that was come unto him. *But* took the poor man's *lamb* (4) and *dressed* it for the man that was come to him. *And* David *was exceeding* wroth *with the* man and said to Nathan As *surely* as the Lord liveth the *fellow* (9) that hath done this *thing* is the child of death...

TAVERNER agrees verbally with Matthew except by reading: to *make* of his own (error): to *prepare* for the s.: is *worthy of death.*

[1] The Wittenberg Bible agrees with the Vulgate, except in reading *et erexerat* (om. quæ), *ut pararet* (*ut exhiberet*), and in one or two transpositions, &c. which are probably various readings of the Vulgate text. The Swiss text has only two unimportant verbal differences.

GREAT BIBLE (1539, 1540, 1541) agrees with TYNDALE except (1) *the one—the other* (COV.): (2) *The* rich *man* (C): (3) exceeding many: (4) sheep (C): (5) had b. (C): (6) *with* his ch. *also:* (7) was unto him as his d.: (8) *and of his own* oxen: (9) *man.* Before 'the child of death' stands (in 1539, 1540) a ☞ to indicate an intended note, such as is given in Matthew.

[MÜNSTER. (1) *unus—alter* (2) *Dives* (3) *multos valde* (4) *ovis* (5) *emerat* (6) *apud* filios ejus *pariter* (7) *eratque ei quasi filia* (8) *atque de bobus suis.*]

GENEVA agrees with the GREAT BIBLE except in reading: had *none at all:* his own *morsels: now* there came: *who refused* to take: as the Lord liveth: *shall surely die.*

BISHOPS' agrees with the GREAT BIBLE except in reading: he *spared* to take: as the Lord liveth (Gen.).

To the phrase 'The child of death' a note is added: 'that is *shall surely die*' (Gen.).

APPENDIX VIII.

Mr Froude's history of the English Bible.

App. VIII.

Mr Froude in his history of the reign of Henry VIII. is necessarily led to speak of the work of Tyndale, and so generally of the early history of the English Bible. As he has lent the support of his brilliant narrative to a surprising series of errors, it seems worth while to examine his account in detail. For the evidence of the facts which are stated in correction of his assertions I must refer to the earlier part of the volume.

1.

Before entering on the history of Tyndale's version Mr Froude gives a summary notice of the English versions existing in his time. The paragraph is a significant warning of what is to follow: 'Before the Reformation two versions existed of the Bible in English—'two certainly, perhaps three. One was Wicliffe's; another based on Wicliffe's, but tinted more strongly with 'the peculiar opinions of the Lollard's (sic), followed at 'the beginning of the fifteenth century; and there is

'said to have been a third, but no copy of *this* is known App. VIII.
'to survive, and the history of it is vague[1].'

Of these five statements only one is strictly true, that there were two English versions of the Bible before the Reformation, and even this is obscured by the hypothetical addition of a third version. Wycliffe's own work, as we have seen, extended only to the New Testament, and (perhaps) to part of the Old. Purvey's revision was completed in the 14th century. The doctrinal differences (as far as I have seen) between the two Wycliffite versions are purely imaginary. The 'history' of the third is not only vague but absolutely baseless.

2.

The history of the Wycliffite versions is extremely obscure, and till the great edition of Forshall and Madden appeared it was practically unknown. But Tyndale's life is written very distinctly in his works, and in these Mr Froude may be expected to find himself at home, for there are no more characteristic records of the time. Thus then it is that he tells the translator's story. 'Thither [to Wittenberg] came also from Eng-'land, which is here our chief concern, William Tyndal, 'a man whose history is lost in his work and whose 'epitaph is the Reformation. Beginning life as a rest-'less Oxford student he moved thence to Cambridge, 'thence to Gloucestershire to be tutor in a knight's

[1] iii. p. 77. The single reference is to 'Lewis's *History of the English Bible*.' I have not thought it worth while to trace Mr Froude's errors to their source. Most of them may come from Lewis, but a historian, even when he wanders into bye-ways, should know how to choose his guides. Lewis' was an admirable work for the time when it was written (ed. 2, 1739); but his materials for the early history of the Bible were wholly inadequate.

App. VIII. 'family, and there hearing of Luther's doings and ex-
'pressing himself with too warm approval to suit his
'patron's conservatism (Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*) he
'fell into disgrace.'

The legendary visit to Wittenberg will be noticed afterwards. For the rest Tyndale 'was brought up 'from a child in the University of Oxford,' according to the only evidence which remains, and continued there till he was about thirty, no great proof of restlessness. There is again no reason to suppose that the beginning of his work was in any way due to the influence of Luther; and, on the other hand, the single indication of the date of the first public expression of his reforming zeal is anterior to the final breach of Luther with the Pope, when as yet the Saxon reformer's name would be unknown in England. Nor did Tyndale afterwards, as far as we know, 'express himself with too warm ap-'proval' of Luther's opinions. But even if he did so, so far was Sir John Walsh (his 'patron') from being displeased with Tyndale, that he evidently defended him against the priests, who complained that 'he bare 'himself bold of the gentlemen then in that country.' And in the end Tyndale left his family at his own request: 'Sir,' he said, 'I perceive that I shall not be 'suffered to tarry long here in this country; neither shall 'you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the 'hands of the spirituality; and also what displeasure 'might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God 'knoweth; for the which I should be right sorry.'

Thus nothing is true in this paragraph but the general statement that Tyndale was successively at Oxford, Cambridge, and in Gloucestershire. All the details are incorrect and misleading. 'From Gloucestershire,' the history continues, 'he removed to London, where Cuth-

'bert Tunstall had lately been made bishop, and from Ann. VIII.
'whom he looked for countenance in an intention to
'translate the New Testament. Tunstall showed little
'encouragement to this enterprise, but a ... London
'alderman, Humfrey Monmouth by name, hearing the
'young dreamer preach on some occasion at St Dun-
'stan's, took him to his home for half a year and kept
'him there.'

The first sentence offers no subject for remark. The second is more noticeable. Tunstall civilly refused Tyndale's application to be admitted into his household, but he was not informed of his ultimate design, to which therefore he shewed no 'encouragement,' great or 'little.' Munmouth says that he heard Tyndale 'preach two or 'three sermons,' and after that met him. The 'young 'dreamer' was by this time not far short of forty, and as far from dreaming as Luther himself.

'The half year being past, Monmouth gave him ten
'pounds, with which provision he went off to Witten-
'berg. ... Tyndal saw Luther, and under his immediate
'direction translated the Gospels and Epistles while at
'Wittenberg.'

The history now becomes important. The 'confe-
'deracy' of Tyndale with Luther at Wittenberg is affirmed by Sir T. More, and even by Foxe. On the other side there is the simple statement of Tyndale: 'When he
'[More] saith Tyndale was confederate with Luther, that
'is not truth.' Further, it has been shewn that Tyndale's and Luther's translations are generically distinct. And once again the deposition of Munmouth affirms that Tyndale went from London to Hamburgh, and 'within
'a year after' sent still from Hamburgh for a second ten pounds which he had left in Munmouth's hands. It is scarcely worth while to observe that the Acts and the

App. VIII. Apocalypse are omitted in the description of Tyndale's translation.

'Thence [from Wittenberg] he returned to Antwerp, 'and settling there under the privileges of the city he 'was joined by Joy, who shared his great work with 'him. Young Frith from Cambridge came to him also, 'and Barnes and Lambert...In Antwerp under the care 'of these men was established the printing press....[and 'there] Tyndal's Testament was first printed...'

This paragraph is the most unfortunate of all. Tyndale 'returns' to a place which he had not visited before: is 'joined' by Fryth who did not leave England till a year after: and receives as a colleague the man whose chief claim to remembrance is Tyndale's indignant disclaimer of his tampering with the text of his New Testament in an edition published in 1534. The printing of Tyndale's Testament was, as has been seen, begun at Cologne and finished at Worms. His amanuensis was W. Roye; and there is no evidence, as far as I can find, that Tyndale was at Antwerp till some time afterwards.

The details which are subsequently added complete the sum of error. Tyndale we read 'in the year 1526 'achieved and printed the first edition of his New 'Testament [at Antwerp].' The fact is that he completed *two* editions at Worms in 1525. 'Three editions 'were sold before 1530, and in that year a fresh instal- 'ment was completed.' The fact is that five if not six editions had been issued before that date. What follows is still more surprising:

'The Pentateuch was added to the New Testament, 'and afterwards by Tyndal himself, or under Tyndal's 'eyes, the historical books, the Psalms and Prophets. 'At length the whole canon was translated and pub-

'lished in separate portions.' The date at which this result was obtained is given by implication. In 1534 Cranmer, we are told, as a step to an authorized version of 'the Bible,' 'divided Tyndal's work into ten parts, 'sending one part to each bishop to correct.' App. VIII.

All of Tyndale's work which was published at the time of his martyrdom was, as we have seen, the New Testament, the Pentateuch, the Book of Jonah, and a few fragments—'the Epistles from the Old Testament'—taken from the Sarum Breviary. It is probable that he had completed a translation of the historical books, but there is not the least foundation for the statement that 'the Psalms and Prophets' were translated by him or under his eyes: nor for the piecemeal publication of the books: since the exceptional Book of Jonah was really an appendage to the Preface by which it was accompanied. The scheme of Cranmer belongs to the year 1535, and there is nothing but a conjecture of Strype (or Foxe) to extend to the Old Testament what was originally designed for the New Testament. 'He 'began,' Strype says quoting Foxe, 'with the translation 'of the New Testament....and the same course no ques- 'tion he took with the Old Testament.' The little which is certainly known of the work is entirely opposed to the notion; and in fact at that time there was no English version but Wycliffe's available for the purpose of distribution.

3.

Tyndale's work having been thus singularly amplified, a new version is given of its subsequent fate. 'Finally,' and this is indeed the climax of the narrative, 'the king's 'patience was exhausted. The legitimate methods hav- 'ing been tried in vain, he acted on his own responsi-

App. VIII. 'bility. Miles Coverdale...silently went abroad with a 'licence from Cromwell; with Tyndal's help he collected 'and edited the scattered portions; and in 1536 there 'appeared in London, published *cum privilegio* and de- 'dicated to Henry VIII., the first complete copy of the 'English Bible. The separate translations still anoma- 'lously prohibited in detail were exposed freely to sale 'in a single volume under the royal sanction.'...' Equally 'remarkable [with the Preface] and even more emphatic 'in the recognition of the share in the work borne by 'the king was the frontispiece. This was divided into 'four compartments...In the third compartment Cranmer 'and Cromwell were distributing the Bible to kneeling 'priests and laymen...the people were shouting, "Vivat 'rex!—Vivat rex!" children who knew no Latin lisping, '"God save the King," and at the extreme left, at a gaol 'window, a prisoner was joining in the cry of delight, as 'if he too were delivered from a worse bondage.'

The one certain fact in this elaborate and striking passage is that a Bible prepared by Coverdale appeared in London in 1536 dedicated to Henry VIII. All the rest is hypothetical or false. The king certainly took no active part in the production of Coverdale's Bible. Coverdale *may* have received a license from Cromwell, but he would not need it at Zurich or Frankfort. The Bible was not composed of the collected fragments of Tyndale's work, but was substantially a new version in the whole of the Old Testament and a thorough revision in the New. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that Tyndale helped in making it. It was not printed *cum privilegio* or like the Southwark edition of 1537, and Matthew's 'with the king's most gracious license.' It was not made up of parts prohibited in detail. The frontispiece described does not belong to

it. By an almost incredible series of errors three distinct Bibles are confounded together, and the result is a piece of bibliography probably without parallel. Coverdale's Bible was published in 1535—6, and dedicated with the Preface quoted to Henry VIII. Matthew's Bible was published in 1537 'with the King's most gracious license,' and contained Tyndale's Pentateuch and New Testament separately proscribed. Crumwell's Bible was published in 1539 and is decorated with the remarkable frontispiece, which is adapted in the historian's description to a volume not much more than half the size. A kind of fatality follows Mr Froude to the last. The striking sentiment with which the description concludes finds no support in the design itself. The two prisoners alone do not 'join in the cry of delight,' and it seems as if the artist intended to represent in them the just punishment of the disloyal impugners of the king's supremacy. APP. VIII.

4.

It seems needless as it would be most distasteful to add any further comment on the strange narrative which under the authority of the historian of the Tudors is likely to be for most Englishmen the popular story of the Bible. The subject and the author will, I hope, suggest a sufficient apology for what has been already written. Errors which may be safely left unnoticed when they are hidden in technical or obscure essays gain a fresh significance when they are ratified, without reference to any secondary authority, by a writer whose reputation rests no less on original research than on an impressive style. So it is that history is most fatally corrupted. It is a more pleasing task to do justice to the true imaginative insight—it would be affectation to

APP. VIII. suppose that it is more—with which Mr Froude characterizes Tyndale's work. Serious deductions indeed must be made from the literal interpretation of the words: the complementary influence of Coverdale must be combined with that of Tyndale in estimating the character of the English Bible: yet on the whole the passage is an eloquent and noble judgment, even in its exaggeration, not altogether unworthy of a subject where it is pardonable for criticism to lay aside its coldness:

'Of the translation itself, though since that time it 'has been many times revised and altered, we may say 'that it is substantially the Bible with which we are all 'familiar. The peculiar genius—if such a word may be 'permitted—which breathes through it—the mingled 'tenderness and majesty—the Saxon simplicity—the 'preternatural grandeur—unequalled, unapproached in 'the attempted improvements of modern scholars—all 'are here, and bear the impress of the mind of one 'man—William Tyndal. Lying while engaged in that 'great office under the shadow of death, the sword above 'his head and ready at any moment to fall, he worked 'under circumstances alone perhaps truly worthy of the 'task which was laid upon him—his spirit, as it were 'divorced from the world, moved in a purer element than 'common air[1].'

[1] III. p. 84.

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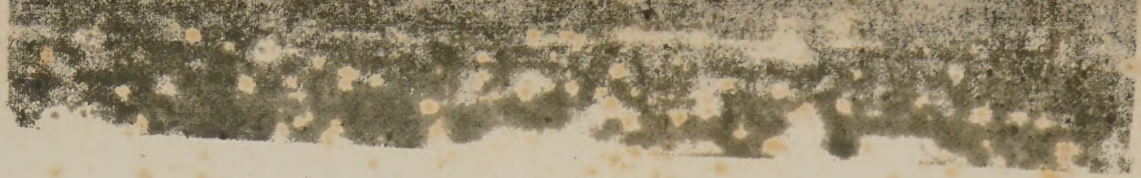

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